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The 1864 Election

Election 1864

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

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ACCEPTANCE OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN. *Washington, 1st.* Senator Trumbull and Representatives Wilson and Dawson today waited upon the President and informed him of his re-election. To this he responded:

"Having served four years in the depths of a great and yet unended national peril, I can view this call to a second term in no wise more flattering to myself than as an expression of the public judgment that I may better finish a difficult work in which I have labored from the first, than could any one less severely schooled to the task. In this view, and with increased reliance on that Almighty Ruler who has so graciously sustained us thus far, and with increased gratitude to the generous people for their continued confidence, I accept the renewed trust with its yet onerous and perplexing duties and responsibilities."

No response has yet been received from the Vice President elect, who did not arrive here until tonight.

BOSTON ADV

A Congratulatory Visit to the President.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17.—This afternoon the Maryland Union State Central Committee formally called upon President Lincoln to congratulate him on his re-election.

Mr. W. H. Purnell, chairman, in his address, said they felt under deep obligations to him because, by the exercise of rare discretion on his part, Maryland to-day occupies the proud position of a free State, and they desired that his future administration of the government, as in the past, might result in the restoration of the Union, with universal freedom as its immaculate basis.

The President, in reply, said he would not attempt to conceal his gratification with the result of the election. He had exercised his best judgment for the good of the whole country, and to have the seal of approbation placed on his course was exceedingly grateful to his feelings.

He expressed his belief that the policy he had pursued was the best and the only one which could save the country.

He repeated what he had said before, that he indulged in no feeling of triumph over any one who thought or acted differently from himself.

He had no such feeling towards any living man. He thought the adoption of a free State Constitution for Maryland, was "a big thing," and a victory for the right, with a great deal more on the part of Maryland, in the election, although of the latter he thought well too.

In conclusion, he repeated what he had previously said, namely, "Those who differed from and opposed us will see that their defeat was better for their own good than if they had been successful." Some time was spent in pleasant intercourse, the President relating several anecdotes appropriate to the occasion.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1864.

THE ELECTION.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND ANDREW JOHNSON have been elected, by enormous and universal majorities in almost all the States, President and Vice-President of the United States for the next four years. This result is the proclamation of the American people that they are not conquered; that the rebellion is not successful; and that, deeply as they deplore war and its inevitable suffering and loss, yet they have no choice between war and national ruin, and must therefore fight on. In an unfortunate moment for himself General McCLELLAN permitted his name to be used as the symbol of the cowardice and subjugation of his fellow-citizens, and from that moment his defeat was a foregone conclusion.

The moral effect of the election both at home and abroad will be of the most impressive character. It shows our foreign enemies that they have nothing to hope from the divisions of this country, while the rebels will see in it the withering and invincible purpose of their loyal fellow-citizens, who ask of them nothing but obedience to the Constitution of the United States, and the laws and acts made in pursuance of it. Whenever they shall choose to overthrow the military despotism that holds them fast—when ever they shall see that no great section of this country can, under equal and respected laws, have any permanent and profound interest different from all the rest—then they will find that the loyal men of the country are longing to throw down their arms and cement a Union that shall be eternal.

But the lesson of the election is, that every constitutional act and law must be absolutely respected. There must be no threats, no revolts, and no hope of extorting terms by arms. The Constitution is the sole condition of the Government; and if citizens differ as to what is constitutional, that difference must be peacefully and constitutionally settled. This is what the people have declared by four years of war, and this is what they confirm by the re-election of Mr. LINCOLN. In himself, notwithstanding his unwearied patience, perfect fidelity, and remarkable sagacity, he is unimportant; but as the representative of the feeling and purpose of the American people he is the most important fact in the world.

One of the most significant lessons of the election is, that the people are conscious of the power and force of their own Government. They expect the utmost vigor in the prosecution of the war by every legitimate method, and they naturally require that the authority of the Government, which is to be established by the continuance of the war, shall not be endangered by its end. When the authority of any Government is openly and forcibly defied it must be maintained unconditionally by arms. When that authority is established and unquestioned, every wise Government will be friendly, patient, conciliatory, but firm and just.

Yet the grandest lesson of the result is its vindication of the American system of free popular government. No system in history was ever exposed to such a strain directly along the fibre as that which ours has endured in the war and the political campaign, and no other could possibly have endured it successfully. The result is due to the general intelligence of the people, and to the security of perfectly free discussion. Let that be maintained and jealously defended by all parties in the land, at every country cross-road, and in every city and State, and the Union and the Government are forever secure. They have been maintained by the authority of the Government itself, and we see the result. Thank God and the people, we are a nation which comprehends its priceless importance to human progress and civilization, and

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

ON Tuesday, the 8th of November, the people of the twenty-five loyal States voted for the President and Vice-President of the United States. On the same day in seven of these States, namely, New York, Massachusetts, Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, and Nevada, there were also held elections of State officers. The election was proceeded with quietly, without even the ordinary commotion. Every possible and expedient measure was adopted to secure this end both by the General and State Governments. There had been rumors of a meditated invasion of States on the Northern border, and of violent schemes involving the release of rebel prisoners and the destruction of the principal Northern cities. The indications that such violence was contemplated were considered sufficient to justify the Government in sending troops North in such numbers, and so disposed, as to render these attempts, if made, utterly useless. Every precaution, however, was taken that these armed men should not even appear, unless absolutely necessary. Major-General Butler was sent to New York City to take command of the troops which were arriving here to meet the existing emergencies.

As we go to press the returns of the election are incom-

plete; but it is certain that ABRAHAM LINCOLN has been re-elected President and ANDREW JOHNSON elected Vice-President of the United States by overwhelming majorities.

Harper's Weekly
Nov. 19, 1864

PENNSYLVANIA ELECTORAL COLLEGE,

HARRISBURG, Dec. 7.—The Electoral College of this State convened to-day in the Senate Chamber, and was called to order by Hon. J. P. Penney, of Allegheny county, who nominated Morton McMichael, Esq., of Philadelphia, as President.

John Hammerly, W. W. Hays, and John A. Small were appointed Secretaries.

The Rev. John Walker Jackson was requested to open the proceedings with prayer, and being conducted to the clerk's desk, he invoked the blessings of Almighty God upon the proceedings of the college:

"Oh! Lord God Almighty, the God of all nations and peoples that do dwell upon the face of the earth, we thank Thee, oh! Thou great Ruler, for our nation, the home of liberty, of order and of law. The lines have indeed fallen unto us in pleasant places, and we have a goodly heritage. Thou hast given unto us a continent for an inheritance. Inbue our hearts with a Christian patriotism that will take pleasure in every token of our country's real welfare. We rejoice in the extent of our inheritance, fitting it for the support of a teeming population. We bless Thee for our schools, scattering instruction through every class of its inhabitants. We bless Thee for our happy form of government. Thou hast made us to be a beacon-light to the oppressed of all other countries, the home of the free. We thank Thee for civil and religious liberty; and oh, God! we glorify Thy name for the order and quiet."

"It is characterized by the day when this free people manifested their choice of a ruler. Bless him who has been thus chosen, by Thy servants, the President of the United States; continue unto him health and strength, and the right use of his reason; bless his administration of the vast concerns of this government in the future as in the past; bless all who are associated with him—his Cabinet, his legislative bodies, whether national or State, the Governors of all loyal States. Oh, God! we have sinned against Thee; we have robbed the hireling of his wages; we have degraded Thine image into a chattel; but oh! we thank Thee that by the guidance of Thy Providence and Holy Spirit we have reached the hour when military necessities coincide with the principles of justice, truth and righteousness in the freedom of the slave. Oh! hasten the hour when by the organic law of the land slavery shall cease forever. Oh, God, bless our armies, the military forces called together to suppress the wicked insurrection against law and order, civilization and religion and liberty. Give to our generals victory; hasten the hour of a righteous and permanent peace; bless our country; give us plenty in our barns and storehouses, labor for the poor, and such compensation for their toil as shall bring comfort to their homes. And now bless these electors, gathered together to give shape and force to the decision of the people. May the awful solemnity of the hour impress their hearts and minds, and grant that the result of the decision of the people shall be so favorable to the country, with all its manifold and various interests, that to the close of their lives they may be grateful to Thee for the privilege they meet here to exercise which Thou has given unto them. Oh, God, we are frail, weak, sinning creatures. We are passing away from time into eternity, from the jurisdiction of earthly kingdoms to the judgment of the great day. Help us to serve Thee. Help us to love Thy cause, to do Thy will, so that when the career of earth is finished we may hear thee say, well done good and faithful servants, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord. We ask all blessings for Jesus' sake, to whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit be ascribed everlasting praise. Amen."

Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasss as we forgive those who trespass against us, and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the kingdom, the power and glory forever. Amen.

Mr. McMichael, on assuming the chair, made the following remarks:

We have met to-day, gentlemen of the Electoral College, for the performance of an august duty. Under all circumstances the determination, by a great commonwealth, of questions affecting its largest interests is of grave importance, and it is especially so when the result of that determination may involve its very existence. Recently our State, in common with her loyal sister States, has been called upon to meet this very emergency—to solve by her action political problems alike awful in their immediate influence and their remotest consequences—and it is to give practical efficacy to what she has done in the premises that we have been deputed by our fellow-citizens. I am sure that each of you feels, as I do, the magnitude of the trust reposed in us.

It is no exaggeration to assert that no people were ever before called upon to pronounce upon issues so vast and vital to themselves, and so world-wide and all-embracing in their relations to others, as those which were presented to the people of the United States on the 5th of last November. The present destiny of the model republic of the earth—the future destiny of millions now living in distant regions, and millions yet to be born in the coming ages, were then to be decided. Who shall complain if we boast that never was a public opinion formed more thoughtfully and wisely, or a public award pronounced more resolutely and calmly? The spectacle of that mem-

orable day was, indeed, full of moral sublimity. In the midst of an unparalleled excitement, after all that was mean and sordid and mercenary in our frail human natures had been constantly solicited, and when evil passions had been goaded to their fiercest extremity, men quietly repaired to the polls, and there, without tumult or turbulence, settled questions which had for months—yea, for years—intensely agitated all minds and bosoms, and, by their violent disturbance, shaken our civil and social fabrics to their very centres.

I say settled, gentlemen, because from that day's decision there can be no appeal. It was no hasty, impulsive or unconsidered conclusion, but a sober, solemn and deliberate judgment. All the issues had been fairly made up; all the pleadings carefully prepared; all the evidence thoroughly examined; all the arguments closely canvassed. In the broad blaze of the intellectual noon of the nineteenth century, while every civilized nation looked on with earnest attention, before the majestic tribunal of a self-governing people, the imposing trial was had whether freedom, humanity and progress should be our onward guides to the future, or whether, resuming the exploded forms of a corrupt and imbecile past, and consenting to be again marshalled by the debased apostles of elite and cruel institutions, we should relapse into barbarism.

Let God be praised that the tribunal was equal to the mighty work assigned to it, for never was verdict more complete, deserved and emphatic than that which was then rendered.

I do not propose to reopen the controversy which, so far as the great mass of the American people are concerned, was thus finally closed. As a preliminary, however, to the votes we shall directly cast, it may not be amiss briefly to state the significance which, as I understand it, the citizens of Pennsylvania, in whose behalf we are to speak, attach to the record we are about to make. That record is intended to show:

That, as the southern rebellion was commenced, and has been continued, utterly without justification, the war it has compelled us to wage must be prosecuted, at whatever cost, until the treason has been wholly subdued, and the flagrant traitors signally punished.

That the Union, in support of which the loyal portion of the American people are contending, is, in the highest sense, a national Union, and can never be sundered upon any assumption of States rights, or upon any pretext of States wrongs.

That, as slavery, through its brutal agencies, provoked, promoted, and now sustains the rebellion, and from its very essence cannot coexist with republican government, therefore the peace for which we are struggling, as well as the future honor, dignity and safety of the nation, demand its total extirpation.

That, as means to this end, not less than for reasons more instant and urgent, the proclamations and other measures of emancipation adopted by the national Administration, whether through its civil or its military instrumentalities, have been just and necessary, and that to remove all further difficulty the national constitution should be so amended as to prohibit involuntary servitude, except for crime, on all soil now occupied by any of the United States, and in all territory now belonging to or henceforth to be acquired by them.

There can be no doubt, I think, that these propositions were sanctioned and accepted by the people of this commonwealth at the recent election: there can be no doubt, I am confident, that their suffrages on that occasion were meant to testify their gratitude, respect and esteem for the good and faithful magistrate whom they have a second time aided in calling to preside over the nation. I believe that nowhere, not even in his own cherished Illinois, where he has been so long known and loved, is there entertained for Mr. Lincoln a warmer or more affectionate attachment than that which we Pennsylvanians feel. His honesty, his tenderness, his benevolence, his generosity, have won our kindest regard for his personal character; while his sagacity, his foresight, his steadiness of purpose, his remarkable aptitude for business, his large comprehension of affairs, his uncomplaining endurance of labors such as few besides himself could have borne to undergo, and his unwearied patience under trials which none besides himself could have borne with equanimity, have secured our strongest admiration for his qualities as a statesman and his capacity as a ruler. Having faith alike in his skill and his integrity, wherever he has offered to lead we have been content to follow—advancing as he advanced, pausing when he paused—and events have vindicated our reliance. Weighed in the balance of an enlightened patriotism, he has not been found wanting by a single scruple: measured by the standard of eminent public service, he rises to the loftiest height and presents the finest proportions.

At this very hour, gentlemen, in all the parts of this immense republic, except in those which are excluded by the folly and wickedness of their own inhabitants—at this very hour, by the shores of the far-off Pacific; on the western slopes of the Rocky Mountains; beside the waters of the magnificent Mississippi; and the scarcely less magnificent Missouri; along the margins of our illimitable lakes; in the very heart of our boundless prairies; amid the clearings of our late unbroken forests, and near the sounding Atlantic where its never-ceasing surge sweeps from Chesapeake to Passamaquoddy—at this very hour, as assembled, as we are here assembled, representatives of the great whole enterprising, and energy and diligence, have built up and developed this superb empire, with its cities rivaling in numbers and wealth, and all the appliances of art and luxury the most famous capitals of Europe;

its mountains teeming with all precious metals and all useful minerals; its valleys swelling with varied and exhaustless riches—assembled to register the irreversible decree of this stupendous constituency. And, gentlemen, as, not without effort, we grasp the conception of this huge nation, stretching from sea to sea, spreading over an entire continent, engaged in manifold industries and pursuits and employments, and reflect that the decree which we and those who have been similarly delegated are soon to register, has no alone saved its life, but in saving it has saved also to the oppressed of all lands the opportunity of sharing in the liberties we enjoy; to the poor of all lands the opportunity of sharing in the bountiful domain we possess; to the aspiring of all lands the opportunity of sharing in the glories we shall acquire; when we pause on all these things, have not cause to be proud and thankful that to us I been allowed the privilege of recording our name

among the names of those chosen to give form and shape to the noblest purposes that ever inspired the breasts and the grandest utterance that ever broke from the lips of this or any people.

The Secretary of the Commonwealth was introduced and presented the returns of the election, reporting the following Electors:

M. McMichael, P. Cunningham, Robert P. King, G. M. Coates, Henry Bland, William H. Kern, B. H. Jenke, Charles M. Rank, Robert Purke, Wm. Taylor, J. A. Hiestand, B. H. Coryell, E. Halliday, Charles F. Read, Elias W. Hale, C. H. Shiner, John Wister, D. McConaughy, D. W. Woods, Isaac Benson, John Patton, S. B. Dick, E. Brier, John P. Penney, E. McJunkin, and J. W. Blanchard.

All of the Electors answered to their names excepting Mr. John Wister.

Mr. Kern offered a preamble and resolution, reciting the fact that Mr. Wister was in Europe, and nominating John B. Clark in his stead.

Mr. John B. Clark was unanimously elected in place of Mr. Wister, and was commissioned by the Governor.

The College then proceeded to vote for President and Vice President of the United States by ballot, which resulted in a unanimous vote for Lincoln and Johnson.

John A. Hiestand, Esq., was appointed as bearer of one of the packages of votes and certificates directed to the President of the United States Senate; Elias W. Hale, Esq., was appointed the bearer of packages directed to Hon. John Cadwalader, Judge of the United States District Court, and Charles H. Shriver, Esq., was appointed to deliver the certificates directed to the President of the United States Senate, at Washington, D. C., to the Postmaster of the seat of government of this State.

A unanimous vote of thanks was tendered to the presiding officer of the College, and also to the Secretaries.

On motion of Mr. Patton, it was unanimously resolved that the pay received by the Electors and messengers to Washington, Philadelphia and Harrisburg, be appropriated to the Sanitary Commission.

After signing the necessary certificates, the College adjourned sine die.

Philadelphia City Election, Oct. 1892				
Wards	Lincoln	McClellan	Howell	McKibbin
1st	1923	1023	1911	1008
2d	2493	2321	2273	2293
3d	1830	1666	1187	1461
4th	927	2269	885	1933
5th	1280	1415	1103	1397
6th	1160	1269	1060	1249
7th	2402	1701	2159	1332
8th	1767	1413	1681	1119
9th	1681	1475	1527	1809
10th	2180	1219	2343	1107
11th	898	1113	936	1474
12th	1429	1323	1353	1267
13th	2192	1346	2051	1325
14th	2539	1384	2284	1338
15th	2539	2395	3201	2174
16th	1698	1673	1619	1618
17th	1793	2310	1184	2055
18th	2243	1228	2312	1200
19th	2639	2489	2469	2320
20th	3656	2841	3214	2483
21st	1170	1331	1617	1339
22d	2670	1160	2092	1123
23d	1587	1189	1973	1356
24th	2503	2015	2281	1772
25th	847	1241	811	1211
26th	2163	1401	1630	1180
Total	50,883	41,485	47,093	39,367
	41,485		39,367	
9,398 Lincoln's maj. 7,726 Howell's m.				

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S SECOND TERM.

Abraham Lincoln has the singular honor of being the only northern man who ever has been re-elected to the office of President of the United States. The remarkable fact that no northern President could succeed in being re-elected has often been the subject of discussion, but at the present time it is rendered more noticable by the exception. The elder and the younger Adams, Van Buren, Harrison, Fillmore, Pierce, and Buchanan, all failed to achieve an honor which a majority of the southern Presidents reached without difficulty. It cannot be said that they did not strive for it. Van Buren nearly ruined his party in his efforts to get back to the White House, and Fillmore actually did destroy his.

But Abraham Lincoln has kept his great party together, has benefited the republic, and gained historic honors for himself in reaching this goal. The satisfaction of the people is testified by his immense majority. Leaving out of view Harrison, who died in office, the rest of President Lincoln's northern predecessors failed of a re-election because they represented nothing. The north was dissatisfied for grave and substantial reasons, and the south was determined to be sectional at all times. Mr. Lincoln has triumphed because he represents those democratic-republican principles which underlie the whole superstructure of our institutions, and because he has been faithful to them.

The people were determined that free principles should be carried out properly and should have a full and fair trial. They were determined that the war should be carried on by men who believed in it, and not by those whose hearts were with the enemy. The first term of Abraham Lincoln has passed into history. It is a record not likely to be forgotten. Into it were concentrated events more portentous than those which half a century of our previous career had witnessed. It is a history of which the republic may well feel proud, and the pen of the historian will in future regard it as among the memorable eras of the earth. What the second term is destined to produce it would be vain to conjecture.

XXXIXth CONGRESS.

First Session—1865-66.

MEETS DECEMBER 4, 1865.

Senate.

President—LAFAYETTE S. FOSTER, of Connecticut.

Secretary—JOHN W. FORNEY, of Pennsylvania.

Republicans (in Roman), 38; Democrats (in italics), 11.

CALIFORNIA.	MISSOURI.
<i>James A. McDougall</i> 1867	<i>B. Gratz Brown</i> 1867
<i>John Conness</i> 1869	<i>John B. Henderson</i> 1869
CONNECTICUT.	NEVADA.
<i>Lafayette S. Foster</i> 1867	<i>James W. Nye</i> 1867
<i>James Dixon</i> 1869	<i>William M. Stewart</i> 1869
DELAWARE.	NEW HAMPSHIRE.
<i>George Read</i> 1869	<i>Daniel Clark</i> 1867
<i>Willard Saulsbury</i> 1871	<i>Aaron H. Cragin</i> 1871
ILLINOIS.	NEW JERSEY.
<i>Lyman Trumbull</i> 1867	<i>William Wright</i> 1869
<i>Richard Yates</i> 1871	<i>John P. Stockton</i> 1871
INDIANA.	NEW YORK.
<i>Henry S. Lath</i> 1867	<i>Ira Harris</i> 1867
<i>Thomas A. Hendricks</i> 1869	<i>Edwin D. Morgan</i> 1869
IOWA.	OHIO.
<i>James W. Grimes</i> 1871	<i>John Sherman</i> 1867
KANSAS.	OREGON.
<i>Samuel C. Pomeroy</i> 1867	<i>James W. Nesmith</i> 1867
<i>James H. Lane</i> 1871	<i>George H. Williams</i> 1871
KENTUCKY.	PENNSYLVANIA.
<i>Garrett Davis</i> 1867	<i>Edgar Cowan</i> 1867
<i>James Guthrie</i> 1871	<i>Charles R. Bucklew</i> 1869
MAINE.	RHODE ISLAND.
<i>Lot M. Morrill</i> 1869	<i>William Sprague</i> 1869
<i>Wm. Pitt Fessenden</i> 1871	<i>Henry B. Anthony</i> 1871
MASSACHUSETTS.	VERMONT.
<i>Charles Sumner</i> 1869	<i>Luke P. Poland</i> 1867
<i>Henry Wilson</i> 1871	<i>Solomon Foot</i> 1869
MARYLAND.	WEST VIRGINIA.
<i>J. A. J. Creswell</i> 1867	<i>Peter G. Van Winkle</i> 1869
<i>Reverdy Johnson</i> 1869	<i>Waltman T. Wiley</i> 1871
MICHIGAN.	WISCONSIN.
<i>Zachariah Chandler</i> 1869	<i>Timothy O. Howe</i> 1867
<i>Jacob M. Howard</i> 1871	<i>James R. Doolittle</i> 1869
MINNESOTA.	
<i>Alexander Ramsey</i> 1869	
<i>Daniel S. Norton</i> 1871	

The vacancy in Iowa is caused by the resignation of Mr. Harlan, to assume the position of Secretary of the Interior. The seat of Mr. Stockton, of New Jersey, will be contested on the ground of irregularity.

The following gentlemen will also claim seats in the Senate at the ensuing session:—

ARKANSAS.	TENNESSEE.
<i>E. Baxter</i> 1867	<i>David T. Patterson</i> 1869
<i>Wm. D. Snow</i> 1871	<i>J. S. Fowler</i> 1871
VIRGINIA.	MISSISSIPPI.
<i>John C. Underwood</i> 1867	<i>Wm. L. Sharkey</i> 1867
<i>Joseph S. Carr</i> 1871	<i>J. L. A. Corn</i> 1871
LOUISIANA.	SOUTH CAROLINA.
<i>R. K. Carter</i> 1867	<i>J. L. Manning</i> 1867
<i>Michael R. Harris</i> 1871	<i>Benj. F. Perry</i> 1871
ALABAMA.	
<i>Geo. L. Houston</i> 1867	
<i>Lewis E. Parsons</i> 1871	

Claimants of Seats.

ALABAMA.	TENNESSEE.
<i>C. C. Langdon</i>	<i>Nathaniel G. Taylor</i>
<i>George C. Freeman</i>	<i>Horace Maynard</i>
<i>C. A. Battle</i>	<i>Col. William B. Stokes</i>
<i>J. W. Taylor</i>	<i>Edmund Cooper</i>
<i>C. Sheld</i>	<i>William B. Campbell</i>
<i>T. J. Foster</i>	<i>Dorsey B. Thomas</i>
LOUISIANA.	VIRGINIA.
<i>Louis N. Martin</i>	<i>William H. B. Custis</i>
<i>Jacob Barker</i>	<i>Lucius H. Chandler</i>
<i>R. C. Wickliffe</i>	<i>B. Johnson Barbour</i>
<i>John E. King</i>	<i>Robert Ridgway</i>
<i>John Ray</i>	<i>B. Verley A. Davis</i>
MISSISSIPPI.	
<i>A. E. Reynolds</i>	<i>Alexander H. H. Stuart</i>
<i>E. A. Pierson</i>	<i>Robert F. Conrad</i>
<i>James T. Harrison</i>	<i>Daniel H. Hoge</i>
<i>A. M. West</i>	
<i>E. G. Peyton</i>	

The Democratic Nominations.

The Democrats have nominated Hon. James Brooks, of New York, for Speaker, and Stephen Decatur Anderson, of the Philadelphia Age, for Clerk.

Southern Credentials.

The North Carolina members have presented their certificates to the Clerk; also two members from Mississippi, and two from Louisiana.

House of Representatives.

CALIFORNIA.	NEVADA.
<i>Donald C. McKee</i>	<i>Delos R. Ashley</i>
<i>William Higby</i>	<i>John F. Starr</i>
<i>John Bidwell</i>	<i>William A. Newell</i>
CONNECTICUT.	NEW YORK.
<i>Henry C. Deming</i>	<i>Stephen Taber</i>
<i>S. L. Warner</i>	<i>Tennis G. Bergin</i>
<i>Augustus Brandages</i>	<i>James Humphrey</i>
<i>John H. Hubbard</i>	<i>M. Ryan Jones</i>
DELAWARE.	NEW HAMPSHIRE.
<i>John A. Nicholson</i>	<i>John F. Farnsworth</i>
ILLINOIS.	NEW JERSEY.
<i>John Wentworth</i>	<i>John B. Washburn</i>
<i>John F. Farnsworth</i>	<i>Aaron C. Harding</i>
<i>John B. Washburn</i>	<i>Eben C. Ingersoll</i>
<i>Aaron C. Harding</i>	<i>Burton C. Cook</i>
<i>Eben C. Ingersoll</i>	<i>H. P. H. Bromwell</i>
<i>Burton C. Cook</i>	<i>Shelby M. Cullom</i>
<i>H. P. H. Bromwell</i>	<i>Lewis W. Ross</i>
<i>Shelby M. Cullom</i>	<i>Anthony Thornton</i>
<i>Lewis W. Ross</i>	<i>Samuel S. Marshall</i>
<i>Anthony Thornton</i>	<i>John Baker</i>
<i>Samuel S. Marshall</i>	<i>A. J. Kuykendall</i>
<i>John Baker</i>	<i>At large—S. W. Moulton</i>
<i>A. J. Kuykendall</i>	
AT LARGE—S. W. Moulton.	INDIANA.
	<i>William E. Atchcock</i>
	<i>M. C. Kerr</i>
	<i>Ralph Hill</i>
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Boston Herald believes that if the biographers of Abraham Lincoln would frankly inform their readers that Mr. Lincoln was not only exceedingly anxious to be re-elected president, but that he took an active interest in setting machinery in motion to secure his re-election, they would tell no more than the truth, and no more than the memory of Mr. Lincoln could well bear. Abraham Lincoln was a thorough politician, and a remarkably shrewd and clever one. His biographers need not be afraid to tell the people of the fact. There is no more reason for making Lincoln a prig than there was for putting that burden upon George Washington. 1887

How the War President Received the Returns.

[From the Hay and Nicolay's Life of Lincoln.]
To Mr. Lincoln this was one of the most solemn days of his life. Assured of his personal success, and devoutly confident that the day of peace and the re-establishment of the Union were not far off, he felt no elation and no sense of triumph over his opponents. His mind seemed filled with mingled feelings of deep and humble gratitude to the vast majority of his fellow-citizens who were this day testifying to him their heartfelt confidence and affection, and of a keen and somewhat surprised regret that he should be an object in so many quarters of so bitter and vindictive an opposition. He said to one of his secretaries: "It is singular that I, who am not a vindictive man, should always, except once, have been before the people for election in canvasses marked for their bitterness. When I came to Congress it was a quiet time; but always, except that, the contests in which I have been prominent have been marked with great rancor."

In the evening he went over, as was his custom, to the War Department. The night was rainy and dark. As he entered the telegraph room he was handed a dispatch from Mr. Forney claiming 10,000 Union majority in Philadelphia. The figures were so far above his estimate that he said, "Forney is a little excitable." A moment after a dispatch came from Mr. Fulton in Baltimore, "15,000 in the city, 5000 in the State. All hail, free Maryland!" A moment after there came messages from Boston announcing majorities for Mr. Hooper and Mr. Rice of something like 4000 each. The President, astonished, asked if this was not a clerical error for 400, but the larger figures were soon confirmed. Mr. Rice, afterwards, in speaking of these astounding majorities in districts where there was never the least charge made of irregularity at the polls, quoted an explanation made by a constituent of his, with no irreverent intention, "The Almighty must have stuffed the ballot boxes."

The entrance of Gen. Eckert, who came in covered with mud from a fall in crossing the street, reminded the President of an incident of his defeat by Douglas. He said: "For such an awkward fellow I am pretty sure-footed. It used to take a rather dexterous man to throw me." I remember the evening of the day in 1858 that decided the contest for the Senate between Mr. Douglas and myself was something like this—dark, raining and gloomy. I had been reading the returns and had ascertained that we had lost the Legislature, and started to go home. The path had been worn hog-backed and was slippery. Both my feet slipped from under me, but I recovered myself and lit clear; and I said to myself, 'It is a slip, and not a fall.'

Mr. Fox, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, indulged in some not unnatural exultation over the complete effacement of Henry Winter Davis from Maryland politics. Mr. Davis had assailed the navy with a peculiarly malicious opposition for two years for no cause that Mr. Fox could assign except that he was a brother-in-law of Montgomery Blair. The President would not agree with him. "You have more of that feeling of personal resentment than I," he said. "Perhaps I have too little of it; but I never thought it paid. A man has no time to spend half his life in quarrels. If any man ceases to attack me I never remember the past against him." All the evening the dispatches kept the same tenor of widespread success—in almost all cases above the estimates. The October States showed increased majorities, and long before midnight the indications were that the State of New York had cast her ponderous vote for Lincoln, and made the verdict of the North almost unanimous in his favor, leaving Gen. McClellan but twenty-one electoral votes, derived from New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky, 212 being cast for Lincoln and Johnson.

It was 2 o'clock in the morning before the President left the War Department. At the door he met a party of serenaders with a brass band, who saluted him with music and cheers, and, in the American fashion, demanded a speech. He made a brief response, saying that he did not pretend that those who had thought the best interests of the nation were to be subserved by the support of the present Administration embraced all the patriotism and loyalty of the country. He continued:

"I do believe, and I trust without personal interest, that the welfare of the country does require that such support and indorsement be given."

"I earnestly believe that the consequence of this day's work (if it be as you assume, and as now seems probable) will be to the lasting advantage, if not to the very salvation, of the country. I can not at this hour say what has been the result of the election. But, whatever it may be, I have no desire to modify this opinion, that all who have labored to day in behalf of the Union organization have wrought for the best interest of their

country and the world, not only for the present but for all future ages.

"I am thankful to God for this approval of the people; but, while deeply grateful for this mark of confidence in me, if I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. I do not through the motives of any one opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over any one; but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity."

For several days the torrent of congratulations came pouring in. Frank Blair wrote from Georgia, where he was leading an army corps under Sherman to the sea: "The vote of this army to-day is almost unanimous for Lincoln. Give Uncle Abe my compliments and congratulations." Grant paused for a moment in his labors of the investment of Richmond to express his sense of the vast importance and significance of the election. He thought a tremendous crisis in the history of the country had been met and triumphantly passed by the quiet and orderly conduct of the American people on the 8th of November.

The manner in which the President received these tumultuous demonstrations of good will was so characteristic that it seems to us worthy of special attention. He was absolutely free from elation or self-congratulation. He seemed to deprecate his own triumph and to sympathize rather with the beaten than the victorious party.

[Carl Schurz in the Atlantic Monthly.]

But even after his renomination the opposition to Lincoln within the ranks of the Union party did not subside. A Convention, called by the dissatisfied radicals in Missouri, and favored by men of a similar way of thinking in other States, had been held already in May, and had nominated as its candidate for the presidency Gen. Fremont. He, indeed, did not attract a strong following, but opposition movements from different quarters appeared more formidable. Henry Winter Davis and Benjamin Wade assailed Lincoln in a flaming manifesto. Other Union men, of undoubted patriotism and high standing, persuaded themselves, and sought to persuade the people, that Lincoln's renomination was ill-advised and dangerous to the Union cause. As the Democrats had put off their Convention until the 29th of August, the Union party had, during the larger part of the summer, no opposing candidate and platform to attack, and the political campaign languished. Neither were the tidings from the theater of war of a cheering character. The terrible losses suffered by Grant's army in the battles of the Wilderness spread general gloom. Sherman seemed for awhile to be in a precarious position before Atlanta. The opposition to Lincoln within the Union party grew louder in its complaints and discouraging predictions. Earnest demands were heard that his candidacy should be withdrawn. Lincoln himself, not knowing how strongly the masses were attached to him, was haunted by dark forebodings of defeat. Then the scene suddenly changed as if by magic. The Democrats, in their National Convention, declared the war a failure, demanded, substantially, peace at any price, and nominated on such a platform Gen. McClellan as their candidate. Their Convention had hardly adjourned when the capture of Atlanta gave a new aspect to the military situation. It was like a sun ray bursting through a dark cloud. The rank and file of the Union party rose with rapidly growing enthusiasm. The song "We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand strong," resounded all over the land. Long before the decisive day arrived the result was beyond doubt, and Lincoln was re-elected President by overwhelming majorities. The election over, even his severest critics found themselves forced to admit that Lincoln was the only possible candidate for the Union party in 1864, and that neither political combinations nor campaign speeches, nor even victories in the field, were needed to insure his success. The plain people had all the while been satisfied with Abraham Lincoln; they confided in him; they loved him; they felt themselves near to him; they saw personified in him the cause of Union and freedom; and they went to the ballot-box for him in their strength.

The hour of triumph called out the characteristic impulses of his nature. The opposition within the Union party had stung him to the quick. Now he had his opponents before him, baffled and humiliated. Not a moment did he lose to stretch out the hand of friendship to all. "Now that the election is over," he said, in response to a serenade, "may not all, having a common interest, reunite in a common effort to save our common country? For my own part, I have striven, and will strive, to place no obstacle in the way. So long as I have been here I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom. While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of a re-election, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be pained or disappointed by the result. May I ask those who were with me to join with me in the same spirit toward those who were against me?" This was Abraham Lincoln's character as tested in the furnace of prosperity.

The war was virtually decided, but not yet ended. Sherman was irresistibly carrying the Union flag through the South. Grant had his Iron hand upon the ramparts of Richmond. The days of the Confederacy were evidently numbered. Only the last blow remained to

address. Lincoln's famous "Gettysburg speech" has been much and justly admired. But far greater, as well as far more characteristic, was that inaugural, in which he poured out the whole devotion and tenderness of his great soul. It had all the solemnity of a father's last admonition and blessing to his children before he lay down to die. These were its closing words: "Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondman's 250 years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said 3000 years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

This was like a sacred poem. No American President had ever spoken words like these to the American people. America never had a President who found such words in the depth of his heart.

Now followed the closing scenes of the war. The Southern armies fought bravely to the last, but all in vain. Richmond fell. Lincoln himself entered the city, accompanied only by his son, "little Tad," and by Charles Sumner. Soon some negroes recognized him, and then he was followed by a throng of those who had been slaves. They pressed around him, kissed his hands and his garments, and shouted and danced for joy, while tears ran down the President's care-furrowed cheeks.

A few days more brought the surrender of Lee's army, and peace was assured. The people of the North were wild with joy. Everywhere festive guns were booming, bells pealing, the churches ringing with thanksgivings, and jubilant multitudes thronging the thoroughfares, when suddenly the news flashed over the land that Abraham Lincoln had been murdered. The people were stunned by the blow. Then a wall of sorrow went up such as America had never heard before. Thousands of Northern households grieved as if they had lost their dearest member. Many a Southern man cried out in his heart that his people had been robbed of their best friend in their humiliation and distress, when Abraham Lincoln was struck down. It was as if the tender affection which his countrymen bore him had inspired all nations with a common sentiment. All civilized mankind stood mourning around the coffin of the dead President. Many of those, here and abroad, who not long before had ridiculed and reviled him, were among the first to hasten on with their flowers of eulogy, and in that universal chorus of lamentation and praise there was not a voice that did not tremble with genuine emotion. Never since Washington's death had there been such unanimity of judgment as to a man's virtues and greatness; and even Washington's death, although his name was held in greater reverence, did not touch so sympathetic a chord in the people's hearts.

Nor can it be said that this was owing to the tragic character of Lincoln's end. It is true, the death of this gentlest and most merciful of rulers by the hand of a mad fanatic was well apt to exalt him beyond his merits in the estimation of those who loved him, and to make his reown the object of peculiarly tender solicitude. But it is also true that the verdict pronounced upon him in those days has been affected little by time, and that historical inquiry has served rather to increase than to lessen the appreciation of his virtues, his abilities, and his services. Giving the fullest measure of credit to his great Ministers—to Seward for his conduct of foreign affairs, to Chase for the management of the finances under terrible difficulties, to Stanton for the performance of his tremendous task as war secretary—and readily ac-

knowledge that without the heroism of the great commanders, the soldiers and sailors would not have been achieved, the historian still finds that Lincoln's judgment and will were by no means governed by those around him; that the most important steps were owing to his initiative; that his was the deciding and directing mind, and that it was pre-eminently he whose sagacity and whose character enlisted for the administration in its struggles the countenance, the sympathy and the support of the people. It is found, even, that his judgment on military matters was astonishingly acute, and that the advice and instructions he gave to the generals commanding in the field would not seldom have done honor to the ablest of them. History, therefore, without overlooking, or palliating, or excusing any of his shortcomings or mistakes, continues to place him foremost among the saviors of the Union and the liberators of the slave. More than that, it awards to him the merit of having accomplished what but few political philosophers would have recognized as possible—of leading the republic through four years of furious civil conflict without any serious detriment to its free institutions.

He was, indeed, while President, violently denounced by the opposition as a tyrant and a usurper, for having gone beyond his constitutional powers in authorizing or permitting the temporary suppression of newspapers, and in wantonly suspending the writ of habeas corpus and resorting to arbitrary arrests. Nobody should be blamed who, when such things are done, in good faith and from patriotic motives protests against them. In a republic, arbitrary stretches of power, even when demanded by necessity, should never be permitted to pass without a protest on the one hand, and without an apology on the other. It is well they did not so pass during our civil war. That arbitrary measures were resorted to is true. That they were resorted to most sparingly, and only when the Government thought them absolutely required by the safety of the republic, will now hardly be denied. But certain it is that the history of the world does not furnish a single example of a government passing through so tremendous a crisis as our civil war was with so small a record of arbitrary acts and so little interference with the ordinary course of law outside the field of military operations. No American President ever wielded such power as that which was thrust into Lincoln's hands. It is to be hoped that no American President ever will have to be intrusted with such power again. But no man was ever intrusted with it to whom its seductions were less dangerous than they proved to be to Abraham Lincoln. With scrupulous care he endeavored, even under the most trying circumstances, to remain strictly within the constitutional limitations of his authority; and whenever the boundary became indistinct, or when the dangers of the situation forced him to cross it, he was equally careful to mark his acts as exceptional measures, justifiable only by the imperative necessities of the civil war, so that they might not pass into history as precedents for similar acts in time of peace. It is an unquestionable fact that during the reconstruction period which followed the war more things were done capable of serving as dangerous precedents than during the war itself. Thus it may truly be said of him not only that under his guidance the republic was saved from disruption and the country was purified of the blot of slavery, but that, during the stormiest and most perilous crisis in our history, he so conducted the Government and so wielded his almost dictatorial power as to leave essentially intact our free institutions in all things that concern the rights and liberties of the citizen. He understood well the nature of the problem. In his first message to Congress he defined it in admirable pointed language: "Must a Government be of necessity too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence? Is there in all republics this inherent weakness?" This question

can Republic; as no man could have answered it better, with a triumphant "No."

It has been said that Abraham Lincoln died at the right moment for his fame. However that may be, he had, at the time of his death, certainly not exhausted his usefulness to his country. He was probably the only man who could have guided the nation through the perplexities of the reconstruction period in such a manner as to prevent in the work of peace the revival of the passions of the war. He would indeed not have escaped serious controversy as to details of policy; but he could have weathered it far better than any other statesman of his time, for his prestige with the active politicians had been immensely strengthened by his triumphant re-election; and, what is more important, he would have been supported by the confidence of the victorious Northern people that he would do all to secure the safety of the Union and the rights of the emancipated negro, and at the same time by the confidence of the defeated Southern people that nothing would be done by him from motives of vindictiveness, or of unrestrained fanaticism, or of a selfish party spirit. "With malice toward none, with charity for all," the foremost of the victors would have personified in himself the genius of reconciliation.

He might have rendered the country a great service in another direction. A few days after the fall of Richmond he pointed out to a friend the crowd of office-seekers besieging his door. "Look at that," said he. "Now we have conquered the rebellion, but here you see something that may become more dangerous to this republic than the rebellion itself." It is true, Lincoln as President did not profess what we now call civil service reform principles. He used the patronage of the Government in many cases avowedly to reward party work, and in many others to form combinations and to produce political effects advantageous to the Union cause, and in still others simply to put the right man into the right place. But in his endeavors to strengthen the Union cause, and in his search for able and useful men for public duties, he frequently went beyond the limits of his party, and gradually accustomed himself to the thought that, while party service had its value, considerations of the public interest were, as to appointments to office, of far greater consequence. Moreover, there had been such a mingling of different political elements in support of the Union during the civil war, that Lincoln, standing at the head of that temporarily-united motley mass, hardly felt himself, in the narrow sense of the term, a party man. And as he became strongly impressed with the dangers brought upon the republic by the use of public offices as party spoils, it is by no means improbable that, had he survived the all-absorbing crisis and found time to turn to other subjects, one of the most important reforms of later days would have been pioneered by his powerful authority. This was not to be. But the measure of his achievements was full enough for immortality.

To the younger generation Abraham Lincoln has already become a half mythical figure, which, in the haze of historic distance, grows to more and more heroic proportions, but also loses in distinctness of outline and feature. This is, indeed, the common lot of popular heroes; but the Lincoln legend will be more than ordinarily apt to become fanciful, as his individuality, assembling seemingly incongruous qualities and forces in a character at the same time grand and most lovable, was so unique, and his career so abounding in startling contrasts. As the state of society in which Abraham Lincoln grew up passes away the world will read with increasing wonder of the man who, not only of the humblest origin, but remaining the simplest and most unpretending of citizens, was raised to a position of power unprecedented in our history; who was the gentlest and most peace-loving of mortals, unable to see any creature suffer without a pang in his own breast, and suddenly found himself called to conduct the

greatest and bloodiest of our wars; who wielded the power of government when stern resolution and relentless force were the order of the day, and then won and ruled the popular mind and heart by the tender sympathies of his nature; who was a cautious conservative by temperament and mental habit, and led the most sudden and sweeping social revolution of our time; who, preserving his homely speech and rustic manner even in the most conspicuous position of that period, drew upon himself the scoffs of polite society, and then thrilled the soul of mankind with utterances of wonderful beauty and grandeur; who, in his heart the best friend of the defeated South, was murdered because a crazy fanatic took him for its most cruel enemy; who, while in power, was beyond measure lampooned and maligned by sectional passion and an excited party spirit, and around whose later friend and foe gathered to praise him—which they have since never ceased to do—as one of the greatest of Americans and the best of men.

Lincoln's 2d Election

It Was in the Face of Very Vigorous and at Times Threatening Opposition in the North.

THIS is the anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's second election as President of the United States, an election that was not in any sense a "walk-over," although the relative strength of the candidates shown by the electoral vote cast later, would seem to indicate it. In the college Lincoln and Johnson had 212 votes, while McClellan and Pendleton could muster only 21. A change of about 10,000 votes in Pennsylvania, of less than 4,000 in New York, 10,000 in Indiana, 8,000 in Wisconsin, would have thrown those States into the lap of Democracy, however. Even the New England States wavered, Connecticut giving the Republican candidates about 2,000 plurality in a poll of nearly 30,000 votes. Three thousand votes approximately would have changed the result in New Hampshire, and Maine rolled up nearly fifty thousand ballots in opposition to the Administration.

The opposition vote in this State was 276,308, that is to say more than a quarter of a million of our citizens believed with the Chicago convention platform makers that the "war was a failure" and that McClellan was a better man for President than Abraham Lincoln.

New York's opposition vote was 361,938, but New York (the city especially) was notoriously copperhead, compared with some of the other States.

Even the soldier vote of 1864 was by no means unanimous for the commander-in-chief of the army. Nearly half as many Pennsylvania volunteers in the field voted for "Little Mac" as for "Honest Abe" the exact figures being, Lincoln, 12,349. McClellan, 12,349. McClellan carried the soldier vote of but one State, Kentucky, however, so far as could be determined. The method used prevented the return of this poll separately in some of the commonwealths.

The early autumn elections of 1864 were regarded as significant in more ways than one. Gigantic frauds were charged against the Republicans in Indiana, but the charges were never substantiated. Maine showed a decided Democratic gain, but both Ohio and Pennsylvania showed Republican gains in the selection of Congressmen. The most significant of all elections, however, was that in Maryland, October 11, where a new Constitution was voted upon, a constitution which forever banished slavery from the Commonwealth and withdrew the right of suffrage from those of her citizens who had abetted the Rebellion. But for the vote of soldiers in the field the Constitution would have been rejected. The poll stood: For the Con-

stitution, 30,174; against, 20,699. The soldier vote was 2,633 for, to 163 against. It will be seen that the Constitution would have been rejected by about 2,000 majority had not the soldiers been permitted to vote in their camps.

It was a remarkable co-incidence that Roger B. Taney, Chief Justice of the United States, who had rendered the Dred Scott decision, which did so much to precipitate the conflict, died on the day his State declared for freedom and withdrew the franchise from rebels. Taney's own loyalty to the Union was never for a moment in question. He was as unwavering in his devotion as was his great friend and admirer, Andrew Jackson, who made him a judge. But he had long been the main bulwark of slavery, not only in Maryland, but in the Union. Greeley, who hated human bondage with the fervor of a fanatic, says of him: "His natural ability, eminent legal attainments, purity of private character, fullness of years and the long period he had officiated as Chief Justice, caused him to be regarded by many as a pillar of the State; and his death at this moment seemed to mark the transition from the era of slavery to that of universal freedom."

This compliment is all right as far as it goes, but the New York editor could not refrain in his "Conflict" from a covert attack.

"Though he held his office and discharged its function to the last," continues Greeley, "it was notorious that he did not, and with his views could not sympathize with the Republic in her struggle against red-handed treason. Originally an ultra Federalist, slavery had transformed him into a practical disciple of Calhoun."

There never was a more unwarranted accusation than the foregoing. Taney did sympathize with the Republic in its struggle with the disunionists, and he never was, so far as any act of his life indicated, a disciple of Calhoun.

When Congress met the first Monday in December after Mr. Lincoln's election he transmitted his message, saying among other things:

Judging by the recent canvass and its results, the purpose of the people, within the loyal States, to maintain the integrity of the Union, was never more firm, nor more nearly unanimous than now. The extraordinary calmness and good order with which the millions of voters met and mingled at the polls give strong assurance of this. Not only all those who supported the Union ticket so called, but a great majority of the opposing party also may be fairly claimed to entertain and to be actuated by the same purpose. It is an unanswerable argument to this effect that no candidate for any office whatever, high or low, has ventured to seek votes upon the avowal that he was for giving up the Union. There have been much impugning of motives and much heated controversy as to the proper

means, and best mode of advancing the Union cause; but on the distinct issue of Union or no Union, the politicians have shown their instinctive knowledge that there was no diversity among the people. In affording the people a fair opportunity showing to each other and to the world, this firmness and unanimity of purpose, the election has been of vast value to the national cause.

This session was notable for the passage by a two-thirds vote of the Constitutional amendment abolishing and forever prohibiting slavery throughout the United States. Mr. Henderson, of Missouri, had first submitted the measure in the Senate, where it had passed by a vote of 38 to 6. It is worth recording that two Democrats, Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, and Nesmith, of Oregon, voted for the amendment. This was before the election. After the election Mr. Ashley, of Ohio, moved a reconsideration in the House where the measure had failed, and in response to Mr. Lincoln's urgent request the House concurred. The President had said: "In a great national crisis like ours, unanimity of action among those seeking a common end is very desirable—almost indispensable. And yet no approach to such unanimity is attainable unless some deference shall be paid to the will of the majority. In this case the common end is the maintenance of the Union, and among the means to secure that end, such will, through the election, is most clearly declared in favor of such Constitutional amendment."

On the reconsideration no less than fifteen Democrats voted to make slavery perpetually impossible in America, among them being Baily, Coffroth and McAllister, of this State. By the subsequent ratification of the States the amendment became a part of the organic law.

That Lincoln realized the full solemnity of the situation that confronted him, after he was chosen President a second time as shown by the concluding words of his second inaugural address the following March: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness for the right as God gives us to see the right, let

us strive to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations. F. L. H.

THE EVENING TELEGRAPH

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1911.

Fifty Years Ago.

Nov 8, 1864—Abraham Lincoln Was Elected President of the United States For the Second Time by an Overwhelming Majority Over Gen George B. McClellan, and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee Was Elected Vice President—How Lincoln Received the News of His Triumph.

FIFTY YEARS ago today Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States for the second time, by an overwhelming majority over Gen George B. McClellan, and Andrew Johnson was elected Vice President.

The manner in which Lincoln received the news of his triumph, which assured a continuance of the policy of prosecuting the war to its end, and a restoration of the Union, seemed the result of some subtle influence which warned him that his time in office was now short. The shadow of death could not have created a more solemn spirit in the President. He had no hard feelings to cherish against those who had bitterly opposed him. He did not exult over his signal victory over them, but accepted the result of the nation's balloting in a spirit of calmness and of thanksgiving that showed the depth of his character.

It seems strange now, with the scroll of history unrolled for study, and Lincoln's place as the savior of the Union clear and unquestioned, that there should have been any question of his reelection, on the issue of saving the Union; yet the campaign had been to Lincoln a period of uncertainty. He had been nominated in June. In the middle of the Summer his chances of election had appeared to him so small that he wrote a memorandum, pledging himself to give all the aid in his power to the successful candidate, to save the Union between the date of the election and of the inauguration, as he felt that Gen McClellan, if elected, would not have the power to save it after his inauguration.

The platform on which Gen McClellan was nominated at Chicago, Aug 31, pronounced the war, as conducted by the Lincoln Administration, a failure, and declared for an armistice to arrange for peace. This was termed by Lincoln's supporters "the Chicago surrender." Gen McClellan had shown a broader view of the situation than his supporters, and had repudiated the pivotal plank in their platform.

Looked for Close Contest.

Beyond writing a few private letters to political captains, Lincoln had refrained from personal participation in the campaign. He had felt that the dignity of his office did not permit him to speak on the stump, and from a natural caution he refrained from writing general letters on the issues of the campaign.

This self-effacement had cost him some effort, for the campaign against him had been exceedingly bitter and unfair. The leading journal supporting Gen McClellan had even attacked Lincoln's personal honesty, accusing him of aiding relatives to profit improperly by army contracts.

Lincoln had borne this in complete silence, though it had galled him sorely. Gen McClellan personally had not descended to such methods of campaigning, but he had made a strong appeal to the public on the issue that, when in command of the Army of the Potomac, he had been misused by Lincoln and deprived of a chance of ending the war.

In the earlier stages of the campaign Gen McClellan, largely because of his engaging personality, his known abilities as a soldier—which were great, in spite of his infirmities of character and his failure as a commander in the field—and his entire honesty of purpose, appeared to be a formidable opponent to

Lincoln. This appearance of strength was sustained, and with many causes of weakness within Lincoln's own party it led the President to assume, within a month of the election, that Gen McClellan would give him a close contest. On Oct 13 Lincoln was willing to concede to McClellan 114 electoral votes, to 120 for himself. His first figures, in fact, allowed McClellan 114 to 117 for himself.

What Lincoln Conceded.

This is shown by a memorandum made by the President on the date given, on one of his many long vigils in the military telegraph room of the War Department. This is reproduced in David Homer Bates' book, "Lincoln in the Telegraph Office."

Discussing the Fall elections in Maine, Vermont and Pennsylvania, the President expressed the opinion that Gen McClellan "might slip through." He then took up a telegraph blank and on it wrote the headings "Copperhead Vote," and "Union Vote." Under each he set down a column of States, conceding New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Missouri and Kentucky to McClellan, with their total of 114 electoral votes. In the Union column he put the New England States, with 39 votes, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Oregon, California, Kansas, Indiana, Ohio and West Virginia. This gave him a total of 117 votes. He forgot to put in Nevada, with three votes, and this State was added in the writing of Maj Thomas T. Eckert, chief of the military telegraph. This made a total of 114 for McClellan and 120 for Lincoln.

Feared for New York.

Election day was a dreary one in the White House, with rain beating against the windows, and with no military news of importance to take the President's attention from the election. His anxiety over the issue was increased by the possibility of riots in New York city.

Measures had been taken by Sec of War Stanton, on his own responsibility, to suppress with troops any rioting that might start at the polls. Gen B. F. Butler had been sent from his post at Bermuda Hundred, on the James River, to

New York, to command the forces assembled there to suppress rioting. These arrangements worried Lincoln, as he believed they might cost him many votes, and possibly whatever chance he might otherwise have of carrying the State.

Gen Butler, however, proved a strong ally. His understanding of how to handle political situations was complete. Although he organized the military and the police for quick and drastic work, he kept the soldiers out of sight and studied to avoid any appearance of armed force being in readiness for use at the polls.

The events of the day did not justify the precautions taken, as the election was as orderly as usual. At noon Gen Butler wired the President that New York was "the quietest city ever seen."

This good news confirmed in Lincoln's mind a growing feeling that he would win, even though it might be by narrow margin.

His secretaries in their record of Lincoln's Presidency (Nicolay & Hay, Life of Lincoln) have told how Lincoln passed this important day.

"To Mr Lincoln this was one of the most solemn days of his life," they write. "Assured of his personal success, and devoutly confident that the

day of peace and reestablishment of the Union was not far off, he felt no elation and no sense of triumph over his opponents. His mind seemed filled with mingled feelings of deep and humble gratitude to the vast majority of his fellow-citizens who were this day testifying to him their heartfelt confidence and affection, and of a keen and somewhat surprised regret that he should be the object in so many quarters of so bitter and vindictive an opposition."

No Personal Resentment.

How greatly Lincoln had underestimated his own strength was not at first apparent when the returns began to come in. The telegraph wires were working badly throughout the North and news was late and meager.

Lincoln was at the White House, with a few friends, during the evening. The only returns received were a few scattering figures from Indiana, which indicated a gain for the Republicans in the city of Indianapolis.

After receiving these Lincoln walked across lots to the War Department telegraph office. There he heard that Baltimore had given him a substantial majority. When news came from Boston, showing heavy gains in the Republican vote, the President asked if there were not a clerical error in the figures.

When further returns came in from Maryland, indicating that a candidate who had been very bitter against the Navy Department was defeated, Capt G. V. Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, who was in the telegraph room, indulged in expressions of intense satisfaction.

"You have more of that feeling of personal resentment than I," said the President to Capt Fox. "Perhaps I have too little of it; but I never thought it paid. A man has no time to spend half his life in quarrels. If any man ceases to attack me, I never remember the past against him."

By midnight there were indications that New York State had cast its vote for Lincoln. This, with continued reports of increased majorities, showed that he had won. Yet he continued to receive returns until 2 a. m. Word was then brought him that a band and a crowd were serenading his empty room at the White House, and he started to meet the serenaders. They had by this time come over to the War Department,

Here Lincoln made his last speech of the new and final chapter of his career. He told the crowd that he did not yet know the result of the election, but that he had no desire to modify the opinion that "all who have labored today in behalf of the Union have wrought for the best interests of the country and the world, not only for the present, but for all future ages."

"Thanks to the Almighty."

Then as if he felt, in the face of the returns, that he should assume that the victory was as complete as it seemed to be, he said:

"I am thankful to God for this approval of the people; but, while deeply grateful for this mark of their confidence, if I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. I do not impugn the motives of any one opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over anyone, but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free Government and the rights of humanity."

The final returns justified the earlier indications of a great victory for Lincoln. Only one free State, New Jersey, and two slave States, Delaware and Kentucky, cast their vote for Gen McClellan. Lincoln had 212 electoral votes and McClellan 22. The vote of Nevada was not counted, owing to a technicality.

LINCOLN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS

Compiled by HERBERT WELLS FAY, Custodian Lincoln Tomb

The presidential electors of the home state of successful candidates usually make an important or at least an interesting group. Lincoln had 11 electors from Illinois in 1860 and 16 in 1864, but as James C. Conkling was on both tickets it makes a list of 26 members. We present the list alphabetically for the first time for the convenience of collectors and all interested. We have portraits of those marked * and desire to complete the list. Any help will be welcomed.

- 1860—Thomas G. Allen; Lincoln presidential elector. His home and data are desired.
- 1864—Henry B. Baker, Alton; member of legislature 1864-1865; born Kaskaskia 1824; secretary Elkhartington convention; son of David J. Baker, U. S. Senator, Ill. 1830. (Bench and Bar, p. 612.)
- 1864—John I. Bennett; attorney; 1831-1893. In 1857 settled Galva, Henry County, moved Chicago 1871.
- 1864—Franklin Blades; judge 11th circuit 1877-1878; member legislature 1855-58 and 1859-62. Waukena.
- 1860—Henry P. H. Brownell, Charleston, Ill.; delegate to constitutional convention 1870, Coles county. Member congress 1865-1869.
- 1864—Z. S. Clifford. Do not find sketch.
- 1860-1864—James C. Conkling, Springfield; Lincoln personal friend; Lincoln sent letter to him 1861 to be read at public meeting. Father, Clinton Conkling of Lincoln guard of honor.
- 1864—John Dougherty*, Jonesboro, Ill.; lieutenant governor 1868-72; judge 1st circuit 1877; member legislature with Lincoln, house 1831-34 and 1840-42; senate 1842-48; house 1856-59.
- 1864—John V. Eastace, Dixon, Ill.; circuit judge 1857 and 1878. Died 1889.
- 1864—John V. Farwell*, Chicago; merchant; one of the 100 men of Chicago who attended Lincoln's funeral at Springfield.
- 1860—Allen C. Fuller*, Belvidere; judge 13th circuit 1861-62; member legislature 1861-1866; speaker; senator 1866-72; adjutant general 1861-65.
- 1864—Thomas W. Harris; member of the legislature from Shelby county 1860-1862.
- 1860-1864—Francis A. Hoffman*, Chicago; lieutenant governor 1861-1865; Lincoln wrote letter to him; one of Lincoln pull bearers, Chicago; grand father of Mrs. C. M. Service of Springfield.
- 1864—Wm. T. Hopkins; attorney; county judge; county superintendent of schools; legislature 1861-1866. Grundy county; mentioned in Palmer's Bench and Bar, p. 775-776. Died 1888, leaving no descendants. Mentioned Bench and Bar, p. 776.
- 1860—Wm. Pitt Kellogg*; governor of Louisiana; member congress, Canton, Ill. district. Another Wm. Kellogg, member congress, same district. Lincoln wrote letters to William Pitt Kellogg. (Bench and Bar, p. 1010.)
- 1864—N. M. McCurdy, Vandalia; member of the legislature 1852-1854, Fayette county.
- 1864—Anson S. Miller, Rockford; postmaster; state senate 1846-1848; Lincoln wrote letter to him Aug. 6, 1864.
- 1860—John Olney, Shawneetown; circuit judge 19th district; member legislature 1867. Lincoln correspondent. (Angle, p. 238.)
- 1860—John M. Palmer*; governor; U. S. senator; general Civil war; candidate vice president; attorney, Carlinville, Ill. Author of Palmer's Bench and Bar.
- 1860—William B. Plato, Geneva and Aurora, Kane county; state senate 1848-1852; house 1858-1860. (Bench and Bar, p. 907-916.)
- 1864—James S. Poage; member of constitutional convention 1870, from Henderson and Mercer counties.
- 1864—Benjamin M. Prentiss*, Quincy; born in Virginia, 1819; soldier in Mexican war. Austin Fay killed in his command. General in Civil war. Have his photograph.
- 1860—James Stark*, Augusta, Hancock county; member legislature 1846-1848. (Hancock History, p. 524.)
- 1860—Leonard Swett*, Bloomington and Chicago; mentioned in Lincoln Works, Angle, Tracy; known as Lincoln's most intimate friend.
- 1864—Wm. Walker; not mentioned in Works, Tracy, Angle, Bench and Bar.
- 1860—Lawrence Wellon*, Bloomington; member legislature 1866-1862, DeWitt county; mentioned in Lincoln letters and law cases.

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*Vineyard & Gazette
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When Lincoln Was Reelected

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Miss Katherine Barry Blackwell, a summer resident of Chilmark now 87 years old, was a school girl in New York city at the time of Lincoln's second election to the presidency. The pupils had been asked not to talk politics in school, but the more enthusiastic wore around their necks a red, white and blue ribbon, with stars on the blue. It was passed under the collar, and tied in a bow in front. On election day, Katherine, who had a long walk to reach her school, passed several polling places. At each one, some of the anti-Lincoln party would cry, "There goes a Lincoln gal!"

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WILLIAM LINCOLN PALMER
Suite 389 - 988 Memorial Drive
CAMBRIDGE - MASS.

MAR 15 1935

RECORDS SHOW LINCOLN FAILED TO CARRY SANGAMON COUNTY IN SECOND RACE FOR PRESIDENCY

Present day presidential candidates who fail to carry their own county or state may have a chance for immortality, if the political record of Abraham Lincoln is a good indication that tides may turn when everything else seems lost.

For when the martyred president was running for his second term as president of the United States in the fall of 1864, he carried Springfield with a plurality of but 10 votes, and lost Sangamon county by a total of 380 votes.

A Union party ballot for 1864 gives Lincoln 1324 votes from Springfield, a small majority over that of his Democratic opponent, George B. McClellan, who received 1314 votes. The latter, however, carried the entire county by 3945 to 3565 votes.

The reason for the county rejecting its famous leader, the first of its citizens to reach national fame, lay in the fact over half of the families living in it came originally from southern states—Virginia, Kentucky and the Carolinas. These families disagreed greatly with the political views of Lincoln and supported his eastern opponent to the presidency.

The vote by townships in the county follows:

Township	Lincoln	McClellan
N. Springfield	809	802
S. Springfield	515	512
Williams	173	103
Fancy Creek	122	69
Sackett (Salisbury) ..	30	96
Gardner	72	159
Cartwright	159	214
Island Grove	135	220
Loami	168	182
Curran	70	114
Talkington	51	122
Chatham	167	94
Auburn	62	125
Pawnee..	87	54
Cotton Hill	69	88
Woodside	75	104
Rochester	104	177
Cooper	62	88
Mechanicsburg	183	125
Illioopolis	132	195
Buffalo Hart	57	60
Clear Lake	193	100
Ball	70	142

The Union party was composed mainly of republicans and a few democrats, it is pointed out by Paul Angle, Lincoln authority. John C. Fremont was the choice of many republicans and was nominated by them, but he declined to make the race and the majority of the party supported Lincoln.

In the election of 1864 the parties furnished the ballots and the voters were not required to make their choices unless they sought to support candidates in both parties. Under this system all workers of the Union party distributed ballots and those of the democratic party did likewise.

UNION TICKET.

For President,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

For Vice President,

ANDREW JOHNSON.

For Electors for President and Vice President,

JOHN DOUGHERTY.	WILLIAM T. HOPKINS.
FRANCIS A. HOFFMANN.	FRANKLIN BLADES.
BENJAMIN M. PRENTISS.	JAMES C. CONKLING.
JOHN V. FAIRWELL.	WILLIAM WALKER.
ANSON S. MILLER.	NATHANIEL M. MCCURDY.
JOHN V. EUSTACE.	HENRY S. BAKER.
JAMES S. POAGE.	ZELOTES S. CLIFFORD.
JOHN L. BENNETT.	

For Governor,

RICHARD J. OGLESBY.

For Lieutenant Governor,

WILLIAM BROSS.

For Secretary of State,

SHARON TYNDALE.

For Auditor of Public Accounts,

O. H. MINER.

For State Treasurer,

JAMES H. BEVERIDGE.

For Superintendent of Public Instruction,

NEWTON BATEMAN.

For Representative in Congress for the State at Large,

SAMUEL W. MOULTON.

For Representative in Congress—8th District,

SHELBY M. CULLOM.

For Senator 11th District,

GEORGE W. MINIER.

For Representatives 20th District,

A. M. BLAIR.

J. A. MILLS.

For States Attorney—15th Judicial District,

HENRY W. KERR.

SANGAMON COUNTY NOMINATIONS.

For Clerk of Circuit Court,

PRESKO WRIGHT.

For Sheriff,

WILLIAM V. GREENWOOD.)

For Coroner,

ZEBULON BELL.

For Township Organization.

Against Township Organization.

From this system came the term "scratching", since voters who desired to support all candidates of one party save one or two would scratch out the names of the persons for whom they did not wish to vote.

They would then take the opposing party's ballot and scratch out all except the one or two names and drop it into the ballot box along with their major votes.

Bitter political campaigns resulted from this lax system of voting, and supporters and candidates of one party would charge members of the other with being of the lowest character. It also brought serious charges of fraud and "phoney" ballots, since unscrupulous party leaders frequently would distribute ballots which contained names of candidates not chosen by the rival party.

Frequently there would be printed as a candidate for some office the name of a person who was not the choice of the party, but was an ally of the leader distributing the spurious ballots.

Illinois State Register Feb 28, 1957

THE THIRD TERM TRADITION—ITS RISE AND COLLAPSE IN AMERICAN POLITICS. By Charles W. Stein. Columbia University Press, Morningside Heights, N. Y. 1943. \$3.75.

This book has lain too long on our desk without review, but the discussion, we think, is still pertinent.

We commend this book for quick, easy reading; it has clear and far spaced type; is well written, and contains fifteen delightful cartoons.

It "is surprising," as Dr. Julius Pratt says in the *Foreword*, that a tradition that has had so much said about it, has so far "entirely escaped critical historical examination."

Mr. Stein has gone into the matter thoroughly, and on the whole has dealt with the discussions, resolutions and personalities involved, in an unbiased historical manner. He points out that "a single term of seven years without re-eligibility came very near being written into the Constitution." "Monroe," he recalls, "in opposing the ratification of the Constitution made a stirring speech in which he opposed the re-eligibility of the president."

Washington set the tradition, he finds, not so much from fear of a third term as from personal needs and desires. But Jefferson feels more keenly the menace of too-long-power leading to monarchy, though he, too, desires relief from public burdens. In the beginning Jefferson feared even the second term, but "backed down" knowing Washington was needed for the second term. His original opinion was that "a longer term of service, insusceptible of renewal, would have made a president more independent." Mr. Stein shows that his views that "perpetual re-eligibility would mean perpetual re-election" have many times proved erroneous. For "several Presidents could not gain even a second term." The man and the circumstances have much to do with that.

After all, Jefferson was glad to have his second term "to vindicate his policies and to confound his enemies—the federal party." According to Mr. Stein, "Thomas Jefferson became the real fountain-head of the anti-third term tradition. The example which had been 'unwittingly' set by Washington was sedulously followed by Jefferson, though for a different reason. Madison and Monroe also adhered to the precedent, and by the time of Andrew Jackson it had assumed the character of an unwritten law." We doubt if Washington was as "unwitting" as Mr. Stein believes, for monarchy to him, no less, was unsavory. We also doubt if it is fair to say of Madison that "a change in foreign policy was the price Madison paid for his renomination." That war might have been avoided, but Madison's wise use of commissioners and consultations certainly brought it to a speedy termination.

"As Thomas Jefferson was the Father of the Democratic party, so Andrew Jackson was its founder," declares Mr. Stein. We'll have to admit that this is beyond our comprehension, for *father and founder* were the same. And we've never been able to understand why Democrats have *Jackson Day Dinners*. Though Jackson was humbly born he was the greatest autocrat, among the Presidents, up to his time. What we can see is that by that time "politics" were ruling parties.

Interesting figures are given: "In the first 100 years of our national existence over 125 constitutional amendments were submitted to the Congress of the United States to change the term of President and fix the period of eligibility. These stemmed chiefly from the fear that the President might use the patronage of his office to secure his re-election. More than 50 of these were proposals to set the term at six years."

"In 1815 the Hartford Convention discussed a single term and 'these resolutions provided also that the President should not be elected from the same state for two successive terms' and served to reflect New England's jealousy of Virginia," says Mr. Stein.

He proceeds: "In 1864 was the first time for 25 years that a President had sought a second term, and considerable sentiment had sprung up against a second term for any President. Such was the state of public opinion with which Abraham Lincoln found himself confronted when, after three trying years of civil war, he sought re-election in an attempt to end the struggle and to reunite the opposing factions." We beg to suggest that the sentiment was more against A. Lincoln, a minority President; many at the North had suffered at his hands and there was much dissatisfaction with *him*; and, secondly, that Lincoln had no intention to make any attempt "to reunite the opposing factions." There is no doubt that he wanted to end the struggle, but for his and the North's benefit.

Well said "*that Lincoln characteristically never committed himself definitely, insofar as we know, to any single term proposal.*" His second election, as his first, was not at the dictate of the Northern people, and his re-election was through armed forces at the polls and soldiers returned to vote, some several times apiece. "Salmon P. Chase," he quotes, "asserted that it had virtually become an American tradition for the President not to serve a second term." But all that no-second-term talk was just to be rid of one particular President.

"And the 'Little American Ulysses' sought to become a Yankee Caesar," such is the way, says Mr. Stein, "one can best characterize President Grant's role in the third term drama. Grant's attempt at a third term emerges from history at once as the most flagrant, the most notorious of them all. The reason for this is simply that General Grant's venture was the only conspicuous effort on the part of any man which failed largely because it was a bold attempt at defying the no-third-term tradition." "The

Nation was convinced that Grant intended to retire after his second term, holding to the view that if a man were outstandingly competent there was no good reason for turning him out." This latter "the General" was certainly *not*. W. E. Woodward, in "Meet General Grant," says: "Grant's elevation to the office of President was the greatest disaster of his life, but he never had the faintest inkling of that fact. The moral standards of the nation had touched low-water mark. The financial scandals of his time click like beads on a string. They were so close together that the fingers of history touch several of them at the same time . . ."

South Carolina was not herself when she "declared for it" [Grant's third term]. Northern military and Reconstruction still had her bound and gagged.

Wisely, Mr. Stein says, "At home Grant's henchmen were not faring so well with President Hayes, the *American people were getting their first taste in a long time of clean government.*"

"As James Ford Rhodes has put it, 'had Grant's political career from 1869 to 1877 been as excellent as his military career, he might well have been nominated. Had General Grant become the Republican candidate, this would have been certain evidence that the party intended to retain the power of military interference with the elections; it would have constituted adequate proof that the Republicans were determined to continue the old plan of living on the war with Grant waving the bloody shirt.'" Thus Mr. Stein acknowledges the unsavoriness of the Republican Party and of General Grant and fearlessly condemns both. This was for the third consecutive term. But looking at it soberly General Grant's record as President was no more unpardonable than his record in the war wherein he abrogated the rules of civilized warfare, the rights of humanity and the safeguards of our Constitution.

Mr. Stein goes on to explain: "Especially strong did the General seem to be in the South, where, paradoxically, so many men looked to him to defend them against against Northern hatred; the Northern Democracy was pictured as not being strong enough to accomplish this. What may have been true in the South, however, is that the Southern Democrats were anxious to heal the wounds of the Civil War and for that reason preferred Gen. Grant to the other Republican candidates, possibly because of his clemency at Appomattox." What was that clemency? Did he act more generously than the general run of conquerors? The South, expecting the *butcher*, was relieved, by his acquiescence in Gen. Lee's suggestion for the surrendered men. But who were the voters in the South at this time? Preferring Grant was only a terrible condemnation of the others. Gen. Grant was not nominated and Hayes became the next President, but it was hardly the third term tradition that did it.

Gen. Grant took a trip around the world after his second term as President. But his henchmen were busy in his behalf still for a third

term after a 4 year interim. Roscoe Conkling, in putting up his name for nomination for 1880, began dramatically:

"When asked what state he hails from,
Our sole reply shall be,
He comes from Appomattox
And its famous apple tree."

But, was it not General Lee who rested under the apple-tree and made it famous? "The fight was over; the Grant forces were beaten; a repetition of 'grantism' had been averted; Senators Conkling, Cameron and Logan had gone down in ignominious defeat. The third term threat had been obliterated." The tradition, we believe, again played no real part in that defeat, as Mr. Stein concludes: "Another prominent factor which upset Grant's chances was the memory of 8 years of unprecedented corruption that had prevailed when he was President."

Grover Cleveland, a Democrat, was elected in 1884, but lost the election of 1888 to the Republicans. Cleveland was re-elected in 1892. Whether he would or would not run again begun another *hullabaloo*." Professor H. Von Holst, of the University of Chicago, in a detailed article urged deference to the third term tradition, advising that the best thing a President could do for his party would be to insist that it look for another leader; yet it would be a great folly to confer on the third term tradition the character of unwritten law; in extraordinary emergencies it might be of vital importance to have the liberty to grant three terms; there was no special danger in Cleveland or in a third term for him; he was not a politician's candidate and was both trusted and liked by the masses." This opinion is incorporated by the author. Cleveland was not nominated. President Theodore Roosevelt served out the three years of McKinley's term, was elected for four more years, and then retired in 1908.

Quotes Mr. Stein: "When word reached the White House that Roosevelt had announced his candidacy, [1912] Mrs. Taft remarked: 'I told you so four years ago and you would not believe me.' 'I know you did, my dear,' laughed the President, 'and I think you are perfectly happy now. You would have preferred the Colonel to come out against me than to have been wrong yourself.'" Roosevelt was not nominated by his party, but split it, becoming the *Bull Moose* of the Progressive Party and was defeated by Woodrow Wilson, Democrat. Mr. Stein observes, "with the death of T. Roosevelt we come to the end of what is perhaps the most exciting episode in the story of the third term. The fighting Colonel alone, save his somewhat more subtle cousin, openly and undauntedly flouted the greatest tradition in American politics." He termed T. R.'s method as "Rough-Riding over tradition," and adds, "T. R. was beaten by the existing system

of American politics and the somewhat culpable methods by which we choose our presidential candidates." Is this a slur as to the way Woodrow Wilson was elected?

In 1913 we are shown that "the amendment: The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. The term of office of President shall be 6 years; and no person who has held the office by election or discharged its powers or duties, or acted as President under the Constitution and laws made in pursuance thereof shall be eligible to hold again the office by election," was proposed. It never came up in the House and was directed against "T. R.'s" third term possibility again. "President Wilson," says Mr. Stein, "wrote that same year: 'Four years is too long a term for a President who is not the true spokesman of the people, who is imposed upon and does not lead. *It is too short a term for a President who is doing or attempting a great work of reform, and who has not had time to finish it.* To change the term to six years would increase the likelihood of its being too long, without any assurance that it would, in happy cases, be long enough. *A fixed constitutional limitation to a single term of office is highly arbitrary and unsatisfactory from every point of view.* . . . It is intolerable that any President should be permitted to determine who should succeed him—himself or another—by patronage or coercion, or by any sort of control of the machinery by which delegates to the nominating convention are chosen. . . . The present fact is that the President is held responsible for what happens in Washington in every large matter, and so long as he is commanded to lead he is surely entitled to a certain amount of power—all the power he can get from the support and convictions and opinions of his fellow countrymen; and he ought to be suffered to use that power against his opponents until his work is done. It will be very difficult for him to abuse it. . . . *If we want our Presidents to fight our battles for us, we should give them the means, the means their opponents will always have. Strip them of everything else but the right to appeal to the people, but leave them that; suffer them to be leaders; absolutely prevent them from being bosses.*'"

"On Oct. 25, 1918, Wilson made his famous appeal for a Democratic Congress in the coming election. . . . The Republicans had made it known earlier that if placed in control of the Senate they would block any peace treaty Wilson might make." And continuing, if Mr. Stein means by his "hypothesis concerning Woodrow Wilson as a third term possibility" that Wilson delayed the consummation of the League of Nations in order to make it an issue for a third term, we think he is absolutely wrong. To do Mr. Stein justice, he offers it only as a "remote and no doubt unlikely" suggestion. Why Wilson did not want the Democrats to vote for the League, as amended by Lodge, was because Lodge had annulled all its vital points.

It would be hard to answer, "Who is the worst President the Republicans have elected?" Three or four would vie with each other. "The 1920s were an era of reaction—an age of degradation, moral and otherwise comparable only to that of the 1870s under the Grant regime. . . . Socially also America had reverted to the days of the Grant era. [After Harding.] Into such a picture Calvin Coolidge fitted snugly. And so it went—America clamored for more of Calvin Coolidge. As the year 1925 dawned and he became President in his own right, people were already talking of the noble Calvin for the 1928 nomination." This is the picture that Mr. Stein presents. But people did protest; loudest among whom perhaps was Senator Carter Glass. Coolidge's blindness and weakness, like Grant's, were criminal; though both may have been personally honest, that personal honesty is smudged when they didn't try to protect the people they represented.

"There is no law against electing a President to a third term, or a fourth, or even a fifth," exclaimed the Charleston (W. Va.) *Mail* (Rep.), quotes Mr. Stein. But, even so, Coolidge did not get the nomination again.

"F. D. R." is called "The Champ" and when his third term came up the *Nation* held: "The plain fact is that while a limitation on Presidential tenure is normally desirable, a third term in the last analysis is good or bad depending on the candidate and the circumstances."

But Mr. Stein questions Roosevelt's third term as a "Prelude to Dictatorship," and he is evidently not altogether for "F. D. R." *ad infinitum*. He thinks, however, it might be well to follow this quoted opinion: "The Presidency is distinctly an evolution. It is not what the Constitution expected it to be. . . . Why not let the Presidency work itself out without further Constitutional restrictions, trusting to good sense of the people to meet—as the people after all must meet—the dangers when they arise."

In defining *dictator*, Mr. Stein says, "If a strong executive, who uses his powers wisely and effectively within the law is meant, then we have had many such dictators in our history. Andrew Jackson is the foremost example; Lincoln was one; Woodrow Wilson was one. Gen. Grant was even called "Caesar" . . . If that is what the word means, then a ban on third terms could not prevent dictatorship.' We strongly dissent from this grouping, and including all mentioned as using "powers wisely and effectively within the law." One of these, Lincoln, comes well within Mr. Stein's definition of the "Dictatorship which today exists abroad—often getting into power by force and maintaining itself in power by force, abolishing the right of suffrage, and destroying all previous legal and civil liberties."

In conclusion, he thinks the third term might exercise some restraint, that "it might be well to introduce the single term principle" or "to revert to the previous two-term rule, which worked so admirably in the first 150 years."

Our author has tried hard indeed to be fair, but it is "F. D. R." he's

now worried about, for "Then," say he, "under a legal restriction as to tenure, the presidential office could not so easily develop into the shameful spectacle of unbridled absolutism, the threat of complete centralization would be averted, and the many stimuli which would be administered our rapidly waning democratic way of life could not be gainsaid." If he believes this now, how can he be so blind to what took place in 1861-65, and to the ever steady Federalistic-Republican pull to centralization?

We do have many evils today to overcome.

This fourth term has knocked out too much breath for a new book on the subject right away, but this careful review convinces us more fully that political parties are the wrong vehicles for presenting our Presidential nominees, and that John Taylor, of Caroline, in his denunciation of political parties in the beginning, was right. The *voice of the people* is too much manipulated; there is too much deceiving propaganda; political machines are too corrupt. A better scheme ought to be worked out. Our *Office of Chief Executive* has been disgraced by poor selections too many times in our brief 155 years, and the second term and third term agitations from political parasites have been often disgusting and distracting to the faithful President as well as to the people at large.

Trying Period for Emancipator—Bitterness Aroused Over Second Term Issue—Jersey's Special Interest in Contest

By Evald Benjamin Lawson, president of Upsala College, East Orange. Dealing with happenings of an eventful period 80 years ago, the article frames an interesting political background.

ELECTION year, 1864, was unquestionably one of the most important, and most trying, in the life of Abraham Lincoln. The home front problems were many and aggravating. Bloody encounters were being fought at the front. August of that year has been called the darkest month of the war. Torn and anguished in soul, the President nevertheless possessed a mental poise unexplained except in the terms of profound religious conviction.

There is something infinitely deeper and more vital than spiritual resignation reflected in the words which he wrote to a Quaker friend during that tragic period:

"We hoped for a happy termination of this terrible war long before this; but God knows best, and has ruled otherwise. We shall yet acknowledge his wisdom, and our own error therein. Meanwhile, we must work earnestly in the best lights he gives us, trusting that so working still conduces to the great end He ordains. Surely He intends some great good to follow this mighty convulsion, which no mortal could make, and no mortal could stay."

Many voices had been raised in the ranks of the Republican party opposing the renomination of Lincoln at the convention to be held in Baltimore in June. A meeting of this group was announced to take place in Cleveland on May 31. The "imbecile and vacillating policy of the present Administration in the conduct of the war" was denounced by this new party, which designated itself "Radical Democracy." John C. Fremont and John Cochrane were the candidates named for the offices of President and Vice President. Support failing, however, on September 21 both withdrew their names.

The Cleveland convention was regarded by President Lincoln with considerable amusement. The attendance, expected to be in the thousands, proved to be only 400. When this news was brought to Lincoln he opened his Bible to I Samuel xxii, 2, and read the words: "And every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto Him; and He became captain over them: and there were with Him about four hundred men."

McClellan reminded him of Bab McNab's game cock back home—great on display, but not worth a hoot in a fight!

Lincoln's prospects of being elected for a second term rose and fell with the successes and failures of the armed forces. Gen. Grant was making only slow progress in his campaign against Lee's Army. Even in August it appeared very doubtful that Lincoln could win the contest. But then Gen. Sherman captured Atlanta and the scene changed. In 1864, as in 1860, the President made no campaign speeches.

Feeling in Newark

Feeling ran high everywhere in the pre-election days, not least in Newark. Friday evening, November 4, a demonstration was held by the Unionists here. "The spectacle * * * was such in splendor and animation as only our largest cities can furnish in the heat and rivalry of a campaign like this," according to the account in The Newark Daily Advertiser. Campaign banners displayed the following slogans: "No Armistice with Traitors in Arms," "We Don't Surrender Much," "We Won't Swap Horses—Our Team Is Abe and Andy," "No Chance for Mac to Hide on a Gunboat in This Campaign," "The Rebels Fired the First Gun, We Will Fire the last."

The demonstration was definitely not to the liking of the McClellanites. There were interruptions and disturbances. For these the grand marshal was not to blame, the reporter insisted; the delays were caused by the "intermeddling on the part of persons over whom he had no control." Not all the mud slinging on that particular night was verbal, and the paraders probably rejoiced when the end of the march was reached.

No Exultation

It is particularly interesting to study the Great Emancipator against the background of Tuesday, November 8, Election Day. Here his true greatness was manifested. In the evening, which was dark and rainy, Lincoln went over to the War Department to await the returns. Early it was apparent that he would win a decisive victory. But he did not exult in his own success; rather his heart was filled with humble gratitude. To a group who serenaded him at 2 A. M., as he was leaving the War Department, he spoke of his gratitude as "free from any taint of personal triumph" and added that he did not impugn the motives of any one opposed to him.

He gave thanks to the Almighty "for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity." Lincoln and Johnson received a total of 212 electoral votes, the only states favoring McClellan being Kentucky, Delaware and New Jersey.

Rejoicing over the outcome in the nation, the editor of The Newark Daily

polled 68,014 votes to Lincoln's 60,723. In Newark McClellan led Lincoln by 295 votes, but Essex County gave the President a plurality of 168 votes.

"Never was a contest involving interests of such magnitude fought with such earnestness and so little passion," wrote the editor, evidently having forgotten what took place at the Newark demonstration the Friday evening before. He described the election as "peacefully accomplished." On the same page, however, there appeared a description of irregularities in Hudson County—several hundred illegal votes had been stuffed into ballot boxes; two challengers had been assaulted, and one of them beaten, and numbers of Unionists were prevented from depositing their votes.

"New Jersey Forever"

"New Jersey Forever" was the subject of a very sharp editorial in The Newark Daily Journal, the organ of the Copperhead movement. In this it was announced that "New Jersey will be the last state to desert her colors" and that the state was still "within the pale of the Constitutional Union, if there still exists any such institution."

Learning of his defeat, McClellan resigned his commission in the Army. In January of the following year he journeyed to Europe, returned in 1868, and in 1877 was elected Governor of New Jersey.

LINCOLN'S 'MYSTERY LETTER'

By FRED LOCKLEY

THREE years ago while en route for a visit in the "Deep South" I stopped over in Washington, D. C., where I wanted to consult some of the historical records in the Library of Congress.

I soon found that most of the records were not available to the general public, being reserved for research work by historians. I asked the man in charge of the library how I should go about getting access to some of the original letters and documents of George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Abraham Lincoln.

"The best way to see our literary treasures," he answered, "is to spend a few days here, and go in wherever you see a door marked 'private' or 'public not admitted.' If anyone says anything to you, tell them I sent you."

So I spent the next three days opening doors marked "private," and I saw some wonderful historical treasures.

One of such documents in the Lincoln collection has long been known as a "mystery letter." It is President Lincoln's acceptance of election for his second term as president. On the outside of the document is the indorsement in the handwriting of W. J. McDonald, chief clerk of the United States senate, that the document is in the handwriting of President Lincoln. But the document is not in Lincoln's handwriting, and for many years historians wondered what became of the original letter.

When the votes of the presidential electors had been canvassed a committee from both houses of congress was appointed to notify President Lincoln of his election. The committee consisted of Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois; James F. Wilson, congressman of Iowa, and John F. Dawson of Pennsylvania. On March 1, 1865, the committee called at the executive mansion and delivered its message.

Just prior to the visit President Lincoln had written a hasty note of acceptance reading as follows:

"Having served four years in the depths of a great and yet unended national peril I can view this call to a second term in nowise more flattering to myself than as an expression of the public judgment; that I may better finish a difficult work, in which I have labored from the first, than could anyone less severely schooled to the task. In this view, and with assured reliance on that Al-

mighty Ruler who has so graciously sustained us thus far, and with increasing gratitude to the generous people for their continued confidence, I accept the renewed trust, with its yet onerous and perplexing duties and responsibilities. Please communicate this to the two houses of congress."

It is a copy of this letter, not the original, that is in the Library of Congress, and in a discussion of the case of the "lost letter," reported in the Annals of Iowa, the "mystery" is explained as follows:

"When the official ceremony was over, Mr. Wilson said: 'With your permission, Mr. President, I would be glad to keep that page of manuscript.' 'You are very welcome to it,' said Mr. Lincoln, and handed it to Mr. Wilson of Iowa. Mr. Wilson had a copy of the original letter made, and filed it as the original document.

"The hand-writing of the copy he handed in is an imitation, although a poor one, of the handwriting of President Lincoln. Wilson kept the original until his death at Fairfield, Iowa, and the original at last accounts was still in the possession of his family."

Misspelled Words Clue to 'Mystery'

I find in "Abraham Lincoln, a History" by John G. Nicolay and John Hay, this footnote by John Hay: "The reply reported by the notification committee is incorrect, having apparently been written from memory."

In the copy handed in and indorsed as the original, the word "graceously" as written by President Lincoln, is spelled correctly, "graciously," but whoever copied the original misspelled the word "finish," spelling it "flinnish."

On the document which purports to be the original, but is merely a copy, is the following indorsement: "This paper is in the handwriting of President Lincoln, and was by him handed to Hon. Lyman Trumbull, senator for Illinois, chairman of the committee to notify him of his election, second time, as president, as his response to the committee, and by Mr. Trumbull submitted to the senate as the reply of Mr. Lincoln to the committee and copied into the Senate Journal. This paper being an autograph of President Lincoln I thought proper to preserve it with care. W. J. McDonald, Chief Clerk, Senate U. S."

Not long ago I ran across a letter written by a young woman who had gone with some friends from Philadelphia to attend the dedication of the National Soldiers cemetery at Gettysburg.

She speaks of the address made by Edward Everett, who spoke for an hour and 57 minutes. She added: "I did not wait to hear President Lincoln's talk, as I can read it in the papers, and I wanted to get to where I was staying to rest for the festivities, as I am going out this evening with a young army officer."

The editor of the Patriot and Union of Harrisburg wrote of the occasion at Gettysburg: "The president acted without sense, and without constraint in a panorama that was gotten up more for the benefit of his party than for the honor of the dead. We will pass over the silly remarks of the president. For the credit of the nation we are willing that the veil of oblivion shall be dropped over them and that they shall no more be repeated or thought of."

The editor of the Chicago Times commented as follows on Lincoln's Gettysburg address: "The cheek of every American must tingle with shame as he reads the silly, flat, dishwatery utterances of the man who has to be pointed out to intelligent foreigners as the president of the United States."

The London Times said of the speech: "Anything more dull and commonplace it would not be easy to produce."

Such was some of the erudite contemporary comment on the delivery of a few sentences that in the light of history, rank among the world's greatest.

Edward Everett, former governor of Massachusetts, and one time president of Harvard university, had been notified two months in advance, of his selection as orator of the day. In the discussion as to inviting President Lincoln to speak by the commissioners some of them expressed the fear that he would not be able to do justice to such a solemn occasion, but it was finally decided to allow him to make a few brief remarks. His "remarks," in fact, consisted of nine sentences only, but they will be remembered as long as the English language is spoken, as the immortal "Gettysburg Address."

LINCOLN LORE

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LINCOLN COMMENTS ON HIS RE-ELECTION

For some time previous to his election for a second term Lincoln had thought it rather doubtful that he would be continued in office, and the little memorandum he wrote with respect to the probable outcome is well-known to Lincoln students. Some important statements he made immediately after his election may not be so familiar to the casual reader.

An observation made by one of his secretaries about his reaction to his re-election might present a preliminary view of his attitude. Nicolay or Hay in writing about the election day, stated:

"To Mr. Lincoln this was one of the most solemn days of his life. Assured of his personal success, and devoutly confident that the day of peace and the re-establishment of the Union were not far off, he felt no elation and no sense of triumph over his opponents. His mind seemed filled with mingled feelings of deep and humble gratitude to the vast majority of his fellow-citizens who were this day testifying to him their heartfelt confidence and affection, and of a keen and somewhat surprised regret that he should be an object in so many quarters of so bitter and vindictive an opposition. He said to one of his secretaries: 'It is singular that I, who am not a vindictive man, should always, except once, have been before the people for election in canvasses marked for their bitterness. When I came to Congress it was a quiet time; but always, except that, the contests in which I have been prominent have been marked with great rancor.'"

The observation of his secretary is borne out in a brief speech which he made to a group of serenaders at the door of the War Department at 2 a.m. the morning after the election, in which he is reported to have said:

"He did not pretend that those who had thought the best interests of the nation were to be subserved by the support of the present Administration embraced all the patriotism and loyalty of the country." He continued:

"I do believe, and I trust without personal interest, that the welfare of the country does require that such support and indorsement be given.

"I earnestly believe that the consequence of this day's work (if it be as you assume, and as now seems probable) will be to the lasting advantage, if not, to the very salvation of the country. I can not at this hour say what has been the result of the election. But, whatever it may be, I have no desire to modify this opinion, that all who have labored to day in behalf of the Union organization have wrought for the best interest of their country and the world, not only for the present but for all future ages.

"I am thankful to God for this approval of the people, but, while deeply grateful for this mark of confidence in me, if I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. I do not impugn the motives of any one opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over any one; but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity."

The communication which Lincoln prepared for Congress following his election is brief, indeed, but significant:

"Having served four years in the depths of a great and yet unended national peril, I can view this call to a second term, in nowise more flatteringly to myself, than as an expression of the public judgment, that I may better finish a difficult work, in which I have labored from the first, than could any one less severely schooled to the task.

"In this view, and with assured reliance on that Almighty Ruler who has so graciously sustained us thus far; and with increased gratitude to the generous people for their continued confidence, I accept the renewed trust, with its yet onerous and perplexing duties and responsibilities."

On the manuscript Lincoln had written this request:

"Please communicate this to the two Houses of Congress."

One of Lincoln's finest speeches, but one that is seldom read, was delivered at a White House serenade on November tenth, following the election. It has been preserved in facsimile from which these words are transcribed:

"It has long been a grave question whether any government, *not too strong* for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its own existence in great emergencies.

"On this point the present rebellion brought our republic to a severe test, and a presidential election occurring in regular course during the rebellion added not a little to the strain. If the loyal people, *united*, were put to the utmost of their strength by the rebellion, must they not fail when *divided*, and partially paralyzed, by a political war among themselves?

"But the election was a necessity—We can not have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego, or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us. The strife of the election is but human nature practically applied to the facts of the case. What has occurred in this case, must even recur in similar cases—Human nature will not change—In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak, and as strong; as silly and as wise; as bad and good—Let us, therefore, study the incidents of this, as philosophy to learn wisdom from, and none of them as wrongs to be revenged.

"But the election, along with its incidental, and undesirable strife, has done good, too. It has demonstrated that a peoples' government can sustain a national election, in the midst of a great civil war—Until now it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility. It shows also how *sound*, and how *strong* we still are. It shows that, even among candidates of the same party, he who is most devoted to the Union, and most opposed to treason, can receive most of the people's votes. It shows also to the extent yet known that we have more men now, than we had when the war began. Gold is good in its place, but living, brave, patriotic men are better than gold. But the rebellion continues, and now that the election is over, may not all, having a common interest, reunite in a common effort, to save our common country? For my own part I have striven, and shall strive to avoid placing any obstacle in the way. So long as I have been here I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom.

"While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of a re-election, and duly grateful, as I trust, to Almighty God for having directed my countrymen to a right conclusion, as I think, for their own good, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed or pained by the result.

"May I ask those who have not differed with me, to join with me, in this same spirit towards those who have?

"And now, let me close by asking three hearty cheers for our brave soldiers and seamen and their gallant and skillful commanders."

Nicolay and Hay further commented on the manner in which Lincoln received the many "tumultuous demonstrations of good will" in these words:

"He was absolutely free from elation or self congratulations. He seemed to depreciate his own triumph and to sympathize rather with the beaten than the victorious party."

Lincoln's Reelection

He Won Without A Campaign Speech

By EVALD B. LAWSON
President, Upsala College

The year 1864—an election year—was unquestionably one of the most important, and most trying, in the life of Abraham Lincoln. The home front problems were many and aggravating. Bloody encounters were being fought at the front. August of that year has been called the darkest month of the Civil War.

Torn and anguished in soul, the President nevertheless possessed a mental poise unexplained except in the terms of profound religious conviction. There is something infinitely deeper and more vital than spiritual resignation reflected in the words which he wrote to a Quaker friend during that tragic period: "We hoped for a happy termination of this terrible war long before this; but God knows best, and has ruled otherwise. We shall yet acknowledge His wisdom, and our own error therein. Meanwhile we must work earnestly in the best lights He gives us, trusting that so working still conduces to the great end He ordains. Surely He intends some great good to follow this mighty convulsion, which no mortal could make, and no mortal could stay."

MANY VOICES had been raised in the ranks of the Republican party opposing the renomination of Lincoln at the convention to be held in Baltimore in June. A meeting of this group was announced to take place in Cleveland, on May 31. The "imbecile and vacillating policy of the present administration in the conduct of the war" was denounced by this new party, which designated itself "Radical Democracy." John C. Fremont and John Cochrane were the candidates named for the offices of president and vicepresident. Support failing, however, on Sept. 21, both withdrew their names.

The Cleveland convention was regarded by President Lincoln with considerable amusement. The attendance, expected to be in the thousands, proved to be only four hundred.

When this news was brought to him Lincoln opened his Bible to I Samuel 22.2, and read the words: "And every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him; and he became captain over them: and there were with him about four hundred men."

Earlier in the year Horace Greeley had called the attention of the readers of his New York Tribune to the fact that whereas

during the first 40 years of our nation's history under the Constitution, it had been the general rule to elect the President for a second term, during the last 30 years no President had been re-elected. Greeley suggested that Lincoln be thanked, and that someone else be elected.

THAT LINCOLN was not adverse to being reelected is gathered from a letter he wrote to Elihu B. Washburne in which he stated:

"A second term would be a great honor and a great labor, which together perhaps I would not decline if tendered." But he did next to nothing to promote his own candidacy.

The Republican Convention, which changed its name to the Union Convention, was called to order on June 7. The following day the initial ballot revealed 484 votes for Lincoln, and 22 for Grant, the latter cast by the delegates from Missouri, who promptly made it unanimous for Lincoln. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, was named for the vicepresidency over Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, who had filled the position during Lincoln's first term. The next day the President was officially notified of his nomination.

The Democrats met in Chicago on Aug. 29 and nominated Gen. George B. McClellan as candidate for president, with George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, as his running mate. The platform plank which stated that the war was a failure was repudiated by McClellan in his letter of acceptance. Lincoln had been much disappointed with this general, and McClellan's attitude toward the President was

most unbecoming. Irked by the general's procrastination in waging battle and taking advantage of apparent opportunities, Lincoln is alleged to have said that McClellan reminded him of Bob McNab's game cock back home—great on display but not worth a hoot in a fight!

LINCOLN'S prospects of being elected for a second term rose and fell with the successes and failures of the armed forces. General Grant was making only slow progress in his campaign against Lee's army. Even in August it appeared very doubtful that Lincoln could win the contest.

But then General Sherman captured Atlanta, and the scene changed. The President made no campaign speeches.

It is particularly interesting to study the Great Emancipator against the background of Tuesday, Nov. 8, election day. Here his true greatness was manifested. In the evening, which was dark and

rainy, Lincoln went over to the War Department to await the returns. Early it was apparent that he would win a decisive victory. But he did not exult in his own success; rather his heart was filled with humble gratitude.

To a group who serenaded him at 2 a. m., as he was leaving the War Department, he spoke of his gratitude as "free from any taint of personal triumph," and added that he did not impugn the motives of anyone opposed to him.

HE GAVE THANKS to the Almighty "for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity." Lincoln and Johnson received a total of 212 electoral votes, the only states favoring McClellan being Kentucky, Delaware and New Jersey.

Learning of his defeat, McClellan promptly resigned his commission in the Army. In January of the following year he journeyed to Europe, returned in 1868, and in 1877, was elected governor of New Jersey.

On the night of Nov. 10 Lincoln stood by the window of the north portico of the White House, and aided by a lighted candle held by one of his secretaries, read a hastily prepared address to a multitude of District of Columbia Republicans who had come to serenade him.

Free government is impossible without elections, he pointed out, emphasizing that if the rebellion had caused a foregoing or a postponement of the election then "it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us."

Human nature would never change, he said, for "in any great national trial, compared with the men of this we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good." He referred graciously to the opposing party, as he had done in his remarks on election night, and stated: "It adds nothing to my satisfaction that another man may be disappointed or pained by the result."

TWO SENTENCES of this address stand out in bold relief. The first is an epigrammatic confession of faith; the second serves

as a window through which we behold a great character.

"Gold is good in its place; but living, brave, patriotic men are better than gold."

"So long as I have been here, I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom."

In closing, Lincoln called for three hearty cheers "for our brave soldiers and seamen and their gallant and skillful commanders."

This address, to be sure, has not won the universal fame accorded others by the Civil War President; nevertheless, in the words of one of his secretaries, it is "one of the weightiest and wisest of his discourses." A few months later the sage from the Kentucky cabin, dwelling on that spiritual plane which is above strife and rancor, called on his countrymen—"with malice toward none; with charity for all"—to press on to finish the work before them, and "to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

In the Second Inaugural, as in the Gettysburg Address, Lincoln rose to his greatest heights.

Old Abe's presentation from the portico of the Executive Mansion Nov. 10, in that decisive year of 1864, may well be considered a preamble to those words which will wing their way through all the centuries.

Truth about Lincoln

Is there no one with enough courage or authority to once state the truth about Abraham Lincoln? He's the only figure Republicans ever present at election times. The truth is that he was nominated and elected by the Republican party in 1860, was ousted from that party in 1864 because of the Emancipation Proclamation. He ran and was elected on the Federalist Party ticket in 1864.

CHARLES BORRESEN
536 Rush Street, Room 708

Lincoln a Republican

Recently you had a letter in which a reader stated that Lincoln ran and was elected on the Federalist Party ticket of 1864. There was no Federalist Party at that time.

The Republican Party was known as the Republican Party in 1864 despite the fact that technically the name on the ballot was the National Union Party. The election is always referred to as a Republican victory.

L. P. DENOYER
Managing Editor
Denoyer-Geppert Co.
5235 Ravenswood Ave.

**BUTLER COUNTY
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC TICKET.**

(Presidential Election, Tuesday Nov 2, 1864.)

For President,



GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN,

OF NEW JERSEY

For Vice President,

GEORGE H. PENDLETON,
OF OHIO.

For Electors of President and Vice President
of the United States,
FOR THE STATE OF OHIO.

CHARLES REEMELIN,
THOMAS W. BARTLEY,
JOHN L. VATTIER,
JOHN SCHIFF,
WILLIAM J. GILMORE,
LUTHER SMITH,
CHARLES N. LAMISON,
WILLIAM B. TELFAIR,
WILLIAM H. CREIGHTON,
JUDSON A. BEEBE,
EDWARD S. STOWE,
JAMES G. HALY,
HENRY C. MOORE,
JAMES EMMITT,
CHARLES H. JOHNSTON,
NEAL POWER,
ROBERT A. CONSTABLE,
OLIVER J. SWANEY,
CHARLES M. ATEN,
DAVID R. PAIGE,
SIMEON L. HUNT

ON LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY TODAY, Mrs. Elsie Reed, 2520 E. Third st., has treasured historical mementoes she found recently in a family Bible. They are faded lists of Dayton area electors in the 1864 presidential election. That year, Lincoln and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, on the Republican ticket, defeated Democrats George B. McClellan of New Jersey and George H. Pendleton, a Cincinnati.

OHIO.



UNION PRESIDENTIAL TICKET

Election November 2d, 1864.

FOR PRESIDENT:

Abraham Lincoln,
OF ILLINOIS.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT:

Andrew Johnson,
OF TENNESSEE.

ELECTORS:

JOHN M. CONNELL, } AT LARGE.
JOHN P. BIEHN, }
JOHN K. GREEN,
STANLEY MATTHEWS,
LEWIS B. GUNCKEL,
STEPHEN JOHNSTON,
WILLIAM L. WALKER,
MILLS GARDNER,
HENRY W. SMITH,
OZIAS BOWEN,
JACOB SCROGGS,
WILLIAM SHEFFIELD,
GEORGE A. WALLER,
HENRY F. PAGE,
JAMES R. STANBURY,
JOHN H. MCCOMBS,
FREDERICK W. WOOD,
LORENZO DANFORD,
JOHN MCCOOK,
SETH MARSHALL,
ABNER KELLOGG.

Feb. 12, '50

THE DAYTON DAILY NEWS

...
TIMES, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1964.

The New

Published every day in the year

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Pub
ORVIL E. DRYFOOS, Public



Remembering Another November

A century ago this month (Nov. 8, 1864) President Lincoln went over to the War Department telegraph office to get the election returns. It had been raining all day, and the wires worked poorly. Mr. Lincoln passed some of the time between messages reading aloud from his favorite humorist, Petroleum V. Nasby. War Secretary Stanton frowned—he thought Mr. Lincoln should be more solemn. Toward midnight it became clear that the compromise candidate, George B. McClellan, was beaten, and the President, as John Hay recalled, "awkwardly shoveled out" a supper of fried oysters.

Carl Sandburg gives the picture in his monumental biography. He also shows that the popular vote was too close for comfort. A few shifts at critical points would have ended the war with some form of slavery still intact and the old form of states' rights still dominant. And government of the people, by the people and for the people, for which so many men had died, would not have been fully vindicated.

Lincoln walked back to the White House to tell Mrs. Lincoln. Blood and misery and his own violent death lay ahead. We know now that if he had foreseen the whole of that tragic road he would still have followed it—as did the soldiers of the Army of the Potomac who voted for him in the field.

We cannot compare either candidate in tomorrow's election with either candidate in 1864. But we do well to remember that the privilege we have to go to the polls was bought at a great price and should be greatly used and treasured.

Almost Lost 1864 Nomination

How Politician Abe Defeated GOP Rebels

By DOUGLAS YOCOM

*"A bronzed, lank man! His suit
of ancient black,
A famous high-top hat and
plain worn shawl
Make him the quaint great
figure that men love,
The prairie-lawyer, master of us
all."*

—Vachel Lindsay,

"Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight."

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Feb. 9 (UPI)—
Abraham Lincoln is considered one of the
greatest U. S. Presidents, a man who
stood above party pettiness at a time
when the nation was torn by rebellion.

But by mid-1862, two years before his
first term as President was to end, Lin-
coln did not consider himself a successful
President. Nor was he above party poli-
ties. In fact, Lincoln, who later was to
emerge as a master of party politics, was
on the brink of being destroyed by sharp
differences among Republican leaders.

The Republican Party had been a
coalition of various factions since its
founding 10 years before. By 1860
the party was generally divided into
two wings: Radicals who were uncom-
promising against the extension of slav-
ery and Conservatives who had hopes
of preserving national unity.

The Radicals wanted Congress to con-
trol the war policy. Lincoln tried to
hold the party together by balancing his
cabinet with leaders from each faction.
But dissension got so bad Lincoln had to
abandon cabinet meetings.

The Radicals, led by a handful of sen-
ators and congressmen, were unmerciful
in pressuring Lincoln. They opposed his
restraint in conducting the war and tried
to force him into a more aggressive
eners.

By 1862, with the war going badly
and his party threatening to disintegrate,
Lincoln urged William H. Seward, his
secretary of state, to run for president.
Seward, who had become a faithful Lin-
coln admirer, declined.

Then the Democrats gained in the 1862
elections, cutting the Republican majority
in the House from 35 to 18.

The following year the administra-
tion's fortunes rose. Lincoln issued the
Emancipation Proclamation on Jan. 1,
1863, freeing all slaves in rebel states.
This helped pacify the Radicals.

Success at Gettysburg in July and
the capture of Vicksburg spread confi-
dence in the North.



Seward was loyal to Lincoln.

Yet Lincoln's nomination for a second
term was not a certainty. A movement
to nominate Salmon P. Chase, Lincoln's
secretary of the treasury and a leading
Radical, was under way. And in May
John C. Fremont, the Republican candi-
date in 1856, was nominated by a new
party, the "Radical Democracy."

Efforts also were made to build up
Sen. "Bluff" Ben Wade of Ohio and
Ulysses S. Grant, new general-in-chief
of the Union forces.

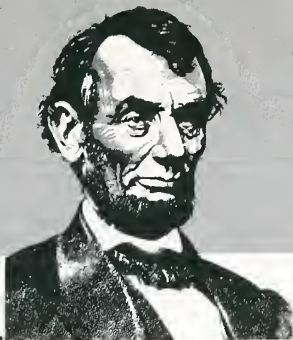
All four candidates were more popu-
lar among dissident Republicans than
national committeemen. Lincoln won the
nomination handily.

Lincoln believed he would be de-
feated at the polls "unless some great
change takes place."

The "great change" began in Septem-
ber.

Word spread that Gen. William T.
Sherman had occupied Atlanta. This
hurt the campaign of Gen. George B.
McClellan, the Democratic presidential
candidate, and dissident Republican ef-
forts faltered.

All combined to re-elect Lincoln. He
received 212 electoral votes to McClel-
lan's 21, losing only Kentucky, New Jer-
sey and Delaware. The popular vote in-
dicated a closer election with McClellan
receiving 45 per cent of the ballots.



Lincoln Lore

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The Presidential Election — 1864

Editor's Note: To read the comments concerning the results of the Presidential election of 1864, which appeared in three of the leading magazines at that day, one is cognizant that the problems of government in 1864 do not appear much different from those of 1972. The editors wrote of "fierce excitements, jealousies and party wrangling" in the Presidential campaign, of "the moral effect of the election both at home and abroad," and how "it shows our foreign enemies that they have nothing to hope from the division of this country," that while there is a desire for "a cessation of hostilities" and "negotiations for peace," there is an "inflexible prosecution of this war" which is the "policy of the administration."

That this contest was "the most critical ordeal of a national election" and that the "lesson of the election is that every Constitutional Act and law must be absolutely respected" and that it should be the duty of citizens to "recognize that law is the indispensable condition of liberty."

R. G. M.

The Presidential election of 1864 occasioned considerable comment in *Harper's Weekly*, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and *The Illustrated London News*. However, the results of the election of November 8, 1864 were not treated by those magazines as news releases.

The issue of *Harper's* dated November 12th did not carry the election results as that number came from the press in advance of its date which was before election day. However, the above issue did carry a double page spread by Thomas Nast which featured "Election-Day, 8th November, 1864." The pro-Lincoln vignettes depicted the allegorical figure of Liberty voting for Lincoln and Union, Soldiers Mailing Their Votes, The Veteran's Vote and Citizens Voting.

It was the November 19th issue of *Harper's* that carried on the editorial page the first announcement to its readers that Lincoln was re-elected.

The Election.

"Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson have been elected, by enormous and universal majorities in almost all the States, President and Vice-President of the United States for the next four years. This result is the proclamation of the American people that they are not conquered; that the rebellion is not successful; and that, deeply as they deplore war and its inevitable suffering and loss, yet they have no choice between war and national ruin, and must therefore fight on. In an unfortunate moment for himself General McClellan permitted his name to be used as the symbol of the cowardice and subjugation of his fellow-citizens, and from that moment his defeat was a foregone conclusion.

"The moral effect of the election both at home and abroad will be of the most impressive character. It shows our foreign enemies that they have nothing to hope from the divisions of this country, while the rebels will see in it the withering and invincible purpose of their loyal fellow-citizens, who ask of them nothing but obedience to the Constitution of the United States, and the laws and acts made in pursuance of it. Whenever they shall choose to overthrow the military despotism that holds them fast—whenever they shall see that no great section of this country can, under equal and respected laws, have any permanent and profound interest different from all the rest — then they will find that the loyal men of the country are longing to throw down their arms and cement a Union that shall be eternal.

"But the lesson of the election is, that every constitutional act and law must be absolutely respected. There must be no threats, no revolts, and no hope of extorting terms by arms. The Constitution is the sole condition of the Government; and if citizens differ as to what is constitutional, that difference must be peacefully and constitutionally settled.

This is what the people have declared by four years of war, and this is what they confirm by the re-election of Mr. Lincoln. In himself, notwithstanding his unwearied patience, perfect fidelity, and remarkable sagacity, he is unimportant; but as the representative of the feeling and purpose of the American people he is the most important fact in the world.

"One other of the most significant lessons of the election is, that the people are conscious of the power and force of their own Government. They expect the utmost vigor in the prosecution of the war by every legitimate method, and they naturally require that the authority of the Government, which is to be established by the continuance of the war, shall not be endangered by its end. When the authority of any Government is openly and forcibly defied it must be maintained unconditionally by arms. When that authority is established and unquestioned, every wise Government will be friendly, patient, conciliatory, but firm and just.

FRANK LESLIE'S ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPER.



JEFF DAVIS'S NOVEMBER NIGHTMARE.

From *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, December 3, 1864.

"Yet the grandest lesson of the result is its vindication of the American system of free popular government. No system in history was ever exposed to such a strain directly along the fibre as that which ours has endured in the war and the political campaign, and no other could possibly have endured it successfully. The result is due to the general intelligence of the people, and to the security of perfectly free discussion. Let that be maintained and jealously defended by all parties in the land, at every country cross-road, and in every city and State, and the Union and the Government are forever secure. They have been maintained by the authority of the Government itself, and we see the result. Thank God and the people, we are a nation which comprehends its priceless importance to human progress and civilization, and which recognizes that law is the indispensable condition of Liberty."

The editors of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* looked with favor on the candidacy of General George B. McClellan as the Democratic Party's nominee, who opposed Lincoln. It was their issue of November 26th that carried the first report on the November 8th Presidential election.

The Presidential Election.

"We have passed quietly through the most imposing, the most momentous, and in many respects, the most critical ordeal of a national election in the history of the United States. The general results are before the country, in the re-election of President Lincoln, by an overwhelming popular and electoral vote, and in the return of a two-thirds Administration majority in the popular branch of Congress.

"No elaborate exposition of causes and effects is here necessary to account for these results. They are simply due to the pressure of that paramount and all-absorbing issue upon the people of the loyal States, the inflexible prosecution of this war, until the rebellious States shall be brought to the point of submission to the supreme authority of the Union. This broad and comprehensive programme of the Administration has carried the day against the untenable positions taken by the Democratic party at Chicago, that the war for the Union is 'a failure,' and that 'immediate efforts' should be made for 'a cessation of hostilities,' in order that negotiations might be tried in behalf of peace. In the face of the oft-repeated and consistent declarations of the leaders of the rebellion, that they will have no peace, nor enter into any negotiations for peace, except upon the basis of Southern independence, those Chicago propositions were largely regarded by the people concerned in this late election as equivalent to overtures for a surrender to Jeff Davis. Thus the Democratic party, in blindly casting away a golden opportunity for a great success, have been signally defeated.

"The people of the loyal States have given their verdict in favor of the war policy of the Administration; they have decreed that there shall be no 'cessation of hostilities,' short of the overthrow and dispersion of the armed forces of the rebellion. The policy of the Government, under Abraham Lincoln as its chief executive officer, is thus established for the next four years. All doubts upon the subject are at an end. The opinion is also widely entertained among the rank and file of the dominant party, the moral influences of Mr. Lincoln's re-election will immediately and powerfully operate to unite and consolidate the loyal States, and to distract, divide and break up the so-called 'Confederate States.' The implacable feelings of hostility manifested on all occasions by the rebel chiefs and rebel journals of the 'Illinois despot,' and their anxiety expressed through a thousand channels for 'anything in the way of a change in the Yankee Government,' have been advanced as fully warranting these hopeful predictions. We congratulate all parties concerned, that the fierce excitements, jealousies and party wranglings of the Presidential campaign are over, and that the National Government and the loyal States have now a fair field before them for a 'short, sharp and decisive' campaign against the armies of the rebellion. We bow to the will of the people."

The same issue of *Leslie's* carried a second article entitled "The Great Presidential Election" that was profusely illustrated with woodcuts bearing the following titles; "Removing Ballot Boxes," "Ticket Booths," "Bringing Invalid Soldiers To The Polls," "Scene At The Polls," "A Liquor Store Closed," "The Process Of Voting," "The Man Who Voted 'Early And Often,'" and a "Night Scene At The N. Y. Herald Office—Displaying Election Returns By Means Of A Calcium Light."

The tenor of the article reporting on the election activities in New York City is one of good humor and resignation; namely, that our "Republican institutions have justified themselves," that as "the police had stopped the supply of liquor, there should be no want of water; and, as temperance men, we are glad to say there wasn't any want of either," that "it was, above all, easy to see that the good sense of the people had determined upon a quiet election, and that the only excesses would be those of a few industrious persons who would 'vote early and vote often,' voting, as Shakespeare says, 'not wisely but too well!'"

"These instances were, however, but few, and we question if there ever was an election in which there were so few fraudulent votes. One man, upon being challenged, said; 'That he thought he had a right to vote twice, because he had not voted last election!' While another argued that he had a perfect right to two votes, since he had a store as well as a private house! In fact, that he considered himself a double man. Another maintained that he had been married twice, and thought he had a good right to vote twice."

The writer of the article concluded that, "there is something very curious and ingenious in the method by which the silent resolve of a great nation is put into motion, and made practical in its bearing upon the government of the world."

The editor of *The Illustrated London News*, November 19, 1864 wrote that: "We had hoped that the *New York* or the *City of Glasgow* would have brought us news of the results of the Presidential election. Both these steamers have, however, arrived without bringing the eagerly desired intelligence. They were off Cape Race on the 9th inst., a day after the election, but the weather, unhappily, was too thick to communicate. Possibly we shall be able to give the information in our town edition."

Once the editors of *The Illustrated London News* received the results of the Presidential election, they gave it adequate coverage with a lead story entitled "The American Presidency" in its issue of November 26th. The article was not editorial in nature, rather it was an historical review of Lincoln's first term of office and the attendant Civil War. In the conclusion of the long article, the statement is made that: "It is possible that, after all, the prolongation of Mr. Lincoln's tenure of office will be productive of ultimate benefit to the people over whom he has been selected to rule for eight years; and that, by means which he never intended and the concurrence of events which he never contemplated, he may become the involuntary saviour of his country."

In the same issue of *The Illustrated London News*, under the heading "America," the following information concerning the Presidential election is to be found:

"Mr. Lincoln has been re-elected President by a large majority. According to the *Times'* correspondent, who telegraphed on the 10th inst., 'Mr. Lincoln has at the lowest estimate a numerical majority of 400,000 votes,' and another correspondent telegraphs that 'Lincoln has 213 out of the 234 electoral votes.' Mr. Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee, has been elected Vice-President. There were no serious disturbances during the elections in any of the States.

"On the night of the 8th inst., President Lincoln was serenaded by a company of Pennsylvanians, and on the night of the 10th he was serenaded by the Columbian Republican Clubs. Mr. Lincoln declared that the peaceable consummation of the recent elections in the midst of a great civil war proved the ability of a Republican Government to maintain its existence in a great emergency, and at the same time preserve the liberties of its people. Now that the elections were over, he appealed to all parties to unite in a common

effort to save the common country; and, while expressing his gratitude to Almighty God for directing the mind of the country to what he considered a right conclusion, he added that it afforded no satisfaction to think any other man might have been disappointed by the result."

Note: Slightly more than 4 million votes were cast in the 1864 Presidential election. Lincoln got approximately 400,000 votes more than McClellan. Percentage-wise Lincoln received about 55% of the popular vote. Lincoln carried every state in the Union except Delaware, New Jersey and Kentucky with 234 electoral votes. McClellan received 21 electoral votes.

The Fourth of March

Editor's Note: The editors of Harper's Weekly, March 11, 1865, published a lead editorial entitled "The Fourth Of March," and the following week, March 18, 1865, their lead editorial was entitled "The Inaugural Address." The editorial writer or writers was/were very enthusiastic about Lincoln's re-election and there was nothing but praise for the topics covered (and not covered) in the Inaugural Address.

R. G. M.

The Fourth Of March.

"On this day President Lincoln enters upon his second term amidst the benedictions of the loyal citizens of the United States. No man in any office at any period of our history has been so tried as he, and no man has ever shown himself more faithful to a great duty. His temperament, his singular sagacity, his inflexible honesty, his patient persistence, his clear comprehension of the scope of the war and of the character and purpose of the American people, have not only enabled him to guide the country safely in its most perilous hour, but have endeared him forever to the popular heart.

"Party hate has dashed itself to pieces against his spotless patriotism. Friendly impatience has long since hushed its hot criticism. Foreign skepticism and affected contempt at length recognize in him a purely characteristic representative of that America which conquers by good sense and moral fidelity. The history of the first term of his administration is the story of a desperate and prodigious civil war waged over a continent, and revealing the unprecedented power of a Government founded upon the popular will.

"Such a war necessarily clothes the chief executive magistrate with extraordinary power. Yet it is the most significant tribute to the character of Mr. Lincoln that his exercise of that power has been so temperate and so purely patriotic that after four years' experience of it parties crumble away, and he is continued in his high office by the hearty confidence of the vast body of the people.

"And that he is to-day inaugurated amidst universal applause, that the nation has not been deluded by the vehement party assaults which every civil war makes so practicable and specious, but has known and approved a man so just and faithful, is the noblest proof of the truly conservative character of that popular Government with which the name of Abraham Lincoln will henceforth be associated."

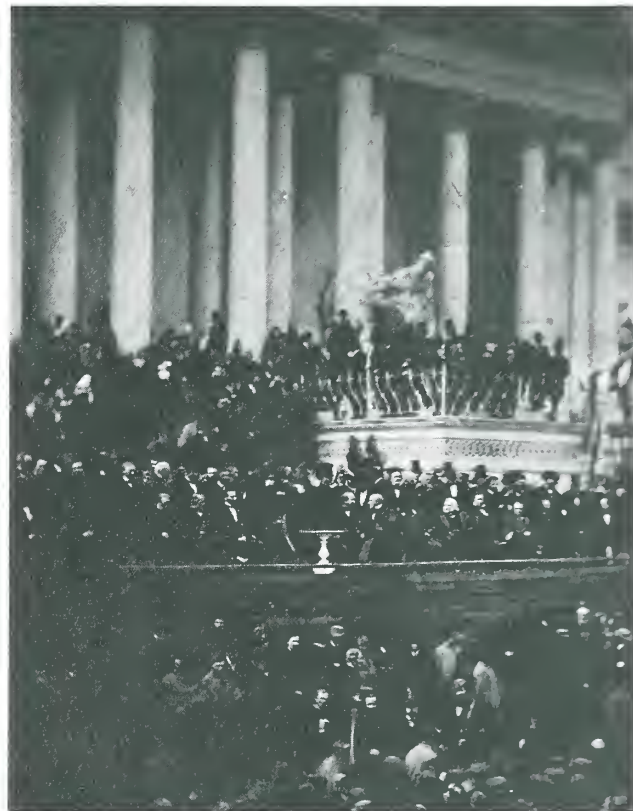
The Inaugural Address.

"The inaugural address of the President is characteristically simple and solemn. He neither speculates, nor prophesies, nor sentimentalizes. Four years have revealed to every mind the ghastly truth that the Government of the United States is struggling in a death-grapple with slavery; and as a new epoch of the Government opens in civil war, its Chief Magistrate states the vital point of the contest, and invokes God's blessing upon the effort of the country to finish its work in triumph. With a certain grand and quaint vigor, unprecedented in modern politics, the President says: 'Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may soon pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so, still it must be said: "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."'

"We are especially glad that the inaugural does not, as the New York Tribune wishes it did, 'appeal to the rebels for a cessation of hostilities as pleadingly as its

prototype (the first inaugural) urged forbearance from beginning them.' Such a tone would have been neither politic nor humane. When the President speaks of 'the progress of our arms upon which all else chiefly depends,' every man is reminded of the peace-history of the last year, and of the terms which have been constantly repeated, and which are perfectly well known to the rebels and to the world. Those terms are unconditional submission to the laws of the United States.

"We are equally glad that the President indulges in no observations upon Mexico, England, France, and things in general. He was taking the oath to continue the work in which his conduct has so satisfied the country that he is continued in his office by general assent. With a fine sense of propriety he says, in the gravest and most impressive way, that he accepts the trust and prays for strength to do his duty. And all true American hearts say, Amen!"



(0-122) Lloyd Ostendorf—Western Reserve Historical Society.

Photograph of Lincoln's Second Inaugural made by Alexander Gardner on Saturday, March 4, 1865. This newly discovered photograph appears to be the only one of the series (0-105, 0-106 and 0-108) to bear the A. Gardner, 511 Seventh St., Washington, D. C. imprint.

Numistamps

Numistamp is a newly coined word to describe a replica, United States coin manufactured in the form of a plaque, having the appearance of a large (1 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ ") postage stamp. Each plaque is struck in metal closely identified with that of the coin it portrays, but avoids any composition that could encourage misuse of the coin impression.

Three of the United States Numistamps acquired by the Foundation are of the small cent series, namely, the one cent dated 1909, the war-time steel cent issued in 1943 and the newly designed cent issued in 1959. The obverse and reverse of all three coins are shown on each plaque.

This series is produced with the knowledge and consent of the General Counsel for the United States Department of the Treasury, and all dies are destroyed upon completion of a limited edition of 4,000 serially numbered pieces in each series.

CUMULATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY 1971-1972

Selections approved by a Bibliography Committee consisting of the following members: Dr. Kenneth A. Bernard, Boston University, 725 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass.; Arnold Gates, 289 New Hyde Park Rd., Garden City, N. Y.; Carl Haverlin, 8619 Louise Avenue, Northridge, California; James T. Hickey, Illinois State Historical Library, Old State Capitol, Springfield, Illinois; E. B. (Pete) Long, 607 S. 15th St., Laramie, Wyoming; Ralph G. Newman, 18 E. Chestnut St., Chicago, Illinois; Hon. Fred Schwengel, 404 Union Arcade Bldg., Davenport, Iowa; Dr. Wayne C. Temple, 1121 S. 4th Street Court, Springfield, Illinois. New items available for consideration may be sent to the above persons, or to the Lincoln National Life Foundation.

1971

ANDERSON, LAVERE.

1971-23

Abe Lincoln/and the/River Robbers/By LaVere Anderson/Illustrated by Cary/Garrard Publishing Company/Champaign, Illinois/ [Copyright by LaVere Anderson. All rights reserved.]

Brochure, stiff boards, 9 1/4" x 6 1/2", fr., 63 pp., illus., price, \$2.95.

LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY

1971-24

Lincoln Memorial University Press/(Device)/Winter, 1971/Vol. 73, No.4/Lincoln Herald/A Magazine devoted to historical/research in the field of Lincolniana and/the Civil War, and to the promotion/of Lincoln Ideals in American/Education./ [Harrogate, Tenn.]

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 10 1/8" x 7 1/8", 197-272 pp., illus., price per single issue, \$1.50.

ZILVERSMIT, ARTHUR.

1971-25

Lincoln on Black and White:/A Documentary History/Arthur Zilvermit/Lake Forest College/Editor/Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., Belmont, California/ [Copyright 1971 by Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc. All rights reserved.]

Book, paper, 9" x 5 3/4", (xiv) p., 187 pp., price, \$3.95.

MACON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1971-26

The Lincolns/The Hanks/And Macon County/ [Privately published by the Macon County Historical Society and the Decatur-Macon County Heritage Committee, Inc. with the permission of the Illinois State Historical Society.]

Book, cloth, 8 3/4" x 5 5/8", (134) pp., insert page attached, illus., price, \$3.00. (Book consists of articles; namely, Lincoln And Macon County, Illinois, 1830-1831 by Edwin D. Davis, The Hanks Family in Macon County, Illinois 1828-1929 by Edwin D. Davis, Oglesby's Fence Rail Dealings And The 1860 Decatur Convention by James T. Hickey, Lincoln Becomes The Railsplitter by Wayne C. Temple, Macon County's First Courthouse by Otto R. Kyle and Lincoln's First Political or "Lincoln Square" Speech.)

1972

BASLER, ROY P.

1972-2

(Profile of Lincoln facing left)/Lincoln's Gettysburg Address/in Translation/Compiled by Roy P. Basler/Library of Congress/Washington/1972/ [Contains translations of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address in 29 languages as well as English. Issued by Library of Congress.]

Pamphlet, 9 1/8" x 5 7/8", (32) pp., price, \$1.25.

BASLER, ROY P.

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Did President Lincoln Give the Smallpox/to William H. Johnson?/Reprinted From/The Huntington Library Quarterly/Volume xxxv : Number 3 : May, 1972/ [Cover title] [Copyright 1972 by The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.]

Folder, paper, 9 1/4" x 6", 279-284 pp.

HOWELL, CARL, JR.

1972-4

Historical Information / Abraham Lincoln / and / Kentucky / By / Carl Howell, Jr. / Hodgenville, Kentucky / [Copyright 1972 Carl Howell, Jr. All rights reserved. Published by The Hardin County Enterprise, Elizabethtown, Kentucky.]

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 9" x 6 1/8", 48 pp., illus., price, \$1.25.

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY

1972-5

Illinois/History/Volume 25/Number 5/February 1972/ Abraham Lincoln/(Picture)/Black Hawk War Uniform—A/Protest Group—Without/Revenge—Lincoln in Southern/Illinois—Between Election and/Inauguration—A Plan for/Restoration—The Emancipation/Proclamation—That Famous/Gettysburg Address—The Second/Inaugural—Old Abe versus Old/Commoner—Pennsylvania Avenue/Zoo—A Memorial Totem Pole/The Great Emancipator/ [Cover title] [Copyright 1972 Illinois State Historical Society. Published by the Illinois State Historical Library for the Illinois State Historical Society, Old State Capitol, Springfield, Illinois 62706.]

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 10" x 7 1/4", pages 99-119, illus., price, 20¢.

LOYAL LEGION, MILITARY ORDER OF THE 1972-6

50th Anniversary/of the/Dedication Of The Lincoln Memorial/1922-1972/ [Caption title]

Folder, paper, 11" x 8 3/8", 4 pp., illus.

McLAUGHLIN, WILLIAM F.

1972-7

Lincoln Tribute-72/Lincoln Almanac/Friday, February 11, 1972—Lansing Civic Center—Lansing, Michigan/(Profile of Lincoln facing right)/ [Cover title] [Published by the Michigan Republican Committee.]

Pamphlet, paper, 8 1/2" x 5 1/4", 52 pp., illus. (A writing depicting "Lincoln's Life In Brief" along with tribute pages, consisting of segments of Lincoln's famous speeches, highlight illustrations of Lincoln and his life and advertising pages, donated by various business and governmental offices throughout the state of Michigan and a tribute page, Lincoln Day, 1972, from The White House, Washington, signed by Richard Nixon.)

MOCHIZUKI, MASA HARU

1972-8

(Device) No. 14/Tokyo Lincoln Center/Report No. Fourteen/February 12, 1972/Tokyo Lincoln Center/Masaharu Mochizuki, Director / 2-1, Sarugaku-cho 1-chome, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan/Phone 291-1860 / [Cover title] [Printed in Tokyo, Japan in both Japanese and English languages.]

Pamphlet, paper, 10 1/8" x 7 1/8", 7 (1) pp., illus. (List of acquisitions, write up on photographs on Lincoln, his family and places, Lincoln's charm, tribute to Lincoln and PFC. Tom Lincoln.)

OSTENDORF, LLOYD

1972-9

Lincoln And His Photographers/By Lloyd Ostendorf/Dayton, Ohio/(Portrait)/Address At Annual Meeting/Lincoln Fellowship of Wisconsin/Madison/1971/Historical Bulletin No. 27/1972/ [Cover title]

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 10" x 7 1/2", 14 pp., illus., price, \$1.00. Send to Mrs. Carl Wilhelm, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 816 State St., Madison, Wisconsin 53706.

SANDBURG, CARL

1972-10

Title: Abraham Lincoln: Vol. I by Carl Sandburg. [Copyright 1972 Noboru Sakashita. Printed in Japan. Published in Japan by arrangement with Harcourt Brace Jorance, Inc. through Charles E. Tuttle Co. Inc., Tokyo.]

Book, cloth, 8" x 5 1/2", 380 pp., illus. (Text of book printed in Japanese language. Index (iii-xii), book history on author, copyright, printing and publishers, and illustration identifications printed both in Japanese and English languages.)

SANDBURG, CARL

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Title: Abraham Lincoln: Vol. II by Carl Sandburg. [Copyright 1972 Noboru Sakashita. Printed in Japan. Published in Japan by arrangement with Harcourt Brace Jorance, Inc. through Charles E. Tuttle Co. Inc., Tokyo.]

Book, cloth, 8" x 5 1/2", 468 pp., illus. (Text of book printed in Japanese language. Index (iii-xiii), book history on author, copyright, printing and publishers, and illustration identifications printed both in Japanese and English languages.)

SANDBURG, CARL

1972-12

Title: Abraham Lincoln: Vol. III by Carl Sandburg. [Copyright 1972 Noboru Sakashita. Printed in Japan. Published in Japan by arrangement with Harcourt Brace Jorance, Inc. through Charles E. Tuttle Co. Inc., Tokyo.]

Book, cloth, 8" x 5 1/2", 474 pp., illus. (Text of book printed in Japanese language. Index (iii-xii), book history on author, copyright, printing and publishers, and illustration identifications printed both in Japanese and English languages.)

SHOWALTER, HOMER T.

1972-13

The Story of/The Lincoln Monument/and its Donor—Alexander New/(Monument inscribed: Lincoln/With Malice Toward None/With Charity For All)/by Homer T. Showalter/Wabash County Historical Society/ [Cover title]

Pamphlet, paper, 11" x 8 1/2", (7) pp., illus.

LINCOLN NATIONAL LIFE FOUNDATION

1972-14

Lincoln Lore/Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation . . . Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry, Editor/Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana/Number 1607, January 1972 to Number 1612, June 1972.

Folder, paper, 11" x 8 1/2", 4 pp., illus. Number 1607, Brig.-Gen. Ben Hardin Helm, Mrs. Lincoln's "Rebel" Brother-In-Law, January 1972; Number 1608, Brig.-Gen. Ben Hardin Helm, Mrs. Lincoln's "Rebel" Brother-In-Law, February 1972; Number 1609, The Attempt To Steal Lincoln's Body, March 1972; Number 1610, Lincoln National Life Foundation, Background And Origin, April 1972; Number 1611, The Plot To Steal The Lincoln Corpse, May 1972; Number 1612, The Most Significant Lincoln Cartoon And The Most Timely Lincoln Editorial, February, 1972, June 1972.

THE coming Presidential election is being touted as important: a contest that will determine whether Reaganism can survive Reagan or whether the Democrats can recapture the White House after losing four of the last five elections. But as crucial elections go, this one doesn't hold a patch on the Presidential contest of 1864.

The issue then was the survival of the nation and the eradication of slavery. Alas, New Jersey came down on the wrong side.

Today we venerate Abraham Lincoln to such a degree that it is hard to imagine that anyone, at least in the North, could have despised him while he lived. But, of course, that was not so. Lincoln aroused tremendous hostility among many of his countrymen, and nowhere in the Union was that more in evidence than in New Jersey.

Even before the Civil War began, the state had been sympathetic to the South. New Jersey bordered on the

What if the state had joined the Confederacy?

the slave state of Delaware, and a portion of New Jersey then, as now, stretched below the Mason-Dixon Line. The city of Newark did an enormous trade in manufactured goods with the South, and New Jersey provided a profitable railroad link between the South and the Northeast. New Jersey was also one of the free states with the most disdain for the abolitionist movement.

New Jersey's opposition to the new, antislavery Republican Party and its standard-bearer, Abraham Lincoln, thus came quite early. In the election of 1860, New Jersey was the only free state in which Lincoln did not carry the popular vote. Indeed, the word "Republican" was so unpopular in New Jersey that the state party officially called itself the Opposition Party in that election.

When Southern states began to leave the Union after Lincoln's election, there was some sentiment that New Jersey should join them. The Newark Journal argued that such a move would make the state a manufacturing center of the Confederacy and would make Perth Amboy a major seaport for the new nation. A former governor wrote a public letter arguing that joining the South would augment "our prosperity, progress, and happiness."

Even those who did not go that far believed that the South was the aggrieved party and that the North should yield to Southern demands.

Although President-elect Lincoln was welcomed by large crowds when he passed through New Jersey in February 1861 on his way to Washington, there was an undercurrent of dislike. One Assemblyman in Trenton offered the resolution "that when this house shall have seen Abraham Lincoln, they will have seen the ugliest man in the country."

With the firing on Fort Sumter, opposition to Lincoln became muted. In the eyes of many Jerseyans, the President was now the defender of the Union against Southern aggression.

Volunteers from New Jersey flocked to the colors, and when Jersey regiments first reached Washington, THE New Jersey Mirror and Burlington County Advertiser reported, Lincoln himself had welcomed the troops and had remarked "that New Jersey,



Harper's Weekly

"Long Abraham a Little Longer," an 1864 cartoon by Frank L. Bellew.

according to her population, had presented a fuller and more completely equipped body of men than any other State."

The report continued: "Every man felt proud that he was Jerseyan, and especially a Jersey volunteer."

But the early euphoria faded rapidly as the Union lost battle after battle, as the casualty figures increased and as war taxes rose. A series of "peace meetings" were held in the state after the defeat at Bull Run, and some person or persons unknown unfurled a Confederate flag in Hackensack.

In September 1861, Federal authorities arrested a prominent New Jerseyman, James W. Wall of Burlington, who had written anti-Lincoln editorials and who had helped to organize peace meetings. Wall was jailed for almost two weeks without warrant or indictment, and his case was used as an example of the high-handed, dictatorial methods of the Lincoln Administration.

The Emancipation Proclamation also outraged many Jerseyans, who saw it as shifting the purpose of the war from preserving the Union to freeing the slaves. In July 1863, a Newark mob, protesting the newly

enacted draft law, smashed windows and destroyed property.

As the war progressed, the Democratic Party in New Jersey divided into two factions. One consisted of the War Democrats, led by the party's gubernatorial candidate, Joel Parker, who supported the war effort but who felt that the Republican Administration was losing the conflict and violating the Constitution.

The members of the other faction, called Peace Democrats by their friends and Copperheads by their enemies, wanted an immediate end to the war. The "martyr" James W. Wall was a leading figure in this wing of the party. Some extreme Copperheads crossed the line between dissent and treason by actively working for a Southern military victory.

But whatever their opinion, the Democrats were united in dislike of Lincoln and a desire to turn him out of office. They were supported by anti-Lincoln newspapers across the state, such as The True American, The Bergen Democrat and The Newark Journal. The Journal was a particularly bitter Copperhead organ, which described Lincoln as "a perjured traitor" who "betrayed his country and caused the butchery of hundreds of thousands."

In the New Jersey election of 1862, the Democrats won a great victory, capturing four out of five Congressional seats, both houses of the Legislature and the governorship. The new Legislature that convened in January 1863 immediately passed a set of notorious "Peace Resolutions," which, while professing a desire to have the Union restored, protested the conduct of the war and called for immediate negotiations with the Confederacy.

The Legislature then elected the Copperhead James W. Hall to the Senate in Washington.

As the Presidential election of 1864 approached, New Jersey Democrats found a champion who could challenge Lincoln on the national level — Gen. George B. McClellan, the dash-

ing former commander of the Union Army of the Potomac, who had been dismissed by Lincoln and who now resided in Orange. At their national convention that year, the party nominated McClellan for President and adopted a platform that echoed the New Jersey Peace Resolutions.

In American politics, the issues separating the parties often get fudged in order to win elections. But in 1864 the differences were about as clear as they could be. On one side stood Lincoln and the the Republicans, calling for military victory over the South. On the other side were McClellan and the Democrats, for whom the war was a disaster.

When the voting was over, McClellan had won a victory in New Jersey, with 68,024 popular votes to Lincoln's 60,723. But New Jersey was almost alone: only the slave states of Kentucky and Delaware joined her in voting for the Democratic ticket. In the rest of the Union, the Republicans won strong majorities in both houses of Congress and there were Republican governments in every Northern state except you-know-where.

(New Jerseyans did not forget McClellan; he was elected governor in 1877.)

It does not take much thought to realize how disastrous it would have been if the Democrats had won and peace negotiations with the Confederates had been undertaken. It is hardly likely that the South would have reentered the Union without insisting that slavery be protected and that the Federal Government be made subordinate to the states.

And even if nothing had come of the negotiations, a cease-fire would have provided the South with a chance to regroup its military force, and undoubtedly the war would have gone on much longer.

Fortunately, Lincoln won, and the nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal prevailed — and New Jerseyans retained the right to be stubbornly in the wrong when they so chose.



London Punch

"The Federal Phoenix," an 1864 cartoon by John Tenniel.

Orig. New York Times Oct 9, 1988

REVIEWS

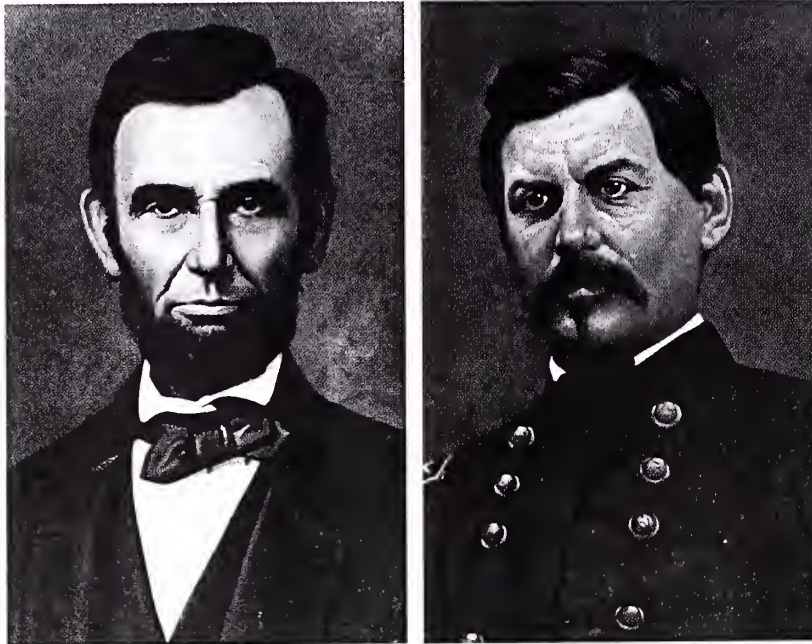
The 1864 presidential election was the final crucial battle of the Civil War, and bullets, not ballots, decided the outcome.

By Roy Morris, Jr.

Of all the presidential elections in American history, none was more crucial than the one that took place on November 8, 1864, in the very midst of the Civil War. On it depended nothing less than the fate of the Union and the survival, or death, of the Confederate States of America. The choice was clear: If President Abraham Lincoln was re-elected, the war would be prosecuted to the finish, with no compromise settlement offered to the rebellious Southern states. If, on the other hand, Democratic candidate George B. McClellan won the presidency, the South could expect generous peace terms in line with the oft-stated slogan, "The Constitution as it is, the Union as it was." Slavery, in some form or another, would continue, and the Emancipation Proclamation, if not the Gettysburg Address, would be relegated to the ash heap of history.

Author John C. Waugh traces the tumultuous and by no means certain electoral victory of Abraham Lincoln in his engrossing new book, *Reelecting Lincoln: The Battle for the 1864 Presidency* (Crown Publishers, New York, \$30). A former political reporter himself, Waugh sets out to cover the 1864 election as it might have been covered by a reporter at the time. In doing so, he creates a surprisingly suspenseful study of an election whose outcome, of course, is now well-known.

As Waugh makes clear, the outcome of the 1864 election was not preordained at the time. Not only did Lincoln face the continuing challenge of a well-armed and heroically led Confederacy, he also faced political challenges from a variety of sources closer to home. In Lincoln's own cabinet, Treasury Secretary Salmon P. Chase was openly organizing a run for the White House, while radical Republican leaders



Republican incumbent Abraham Lincoln (left) faced Democratic candidate and former Union Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan (right) in the 1864 presidential election, which determined that the war would continue to be vigorously prosecuted.

Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens rallied opposition to Lincoln's presumptive reconstruction policies in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. And the very successes that Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant was giving Lincoln on the field of battle were creating a potentially devastating political rival for the 1864 presidential nomination. Troublesome fringe candidates such as 1856 Republican presidential nominee John C. Fremont and Union General Benjamin Butler made threatening noises on the sidelines. Meanwhile, shadowy pro-Southern organizations like the Sons of Liberty were operating in the Midwest to subvert the Union war effort and cost Lincoln his re-election.

Most dangerous of all to Lincoln's political hopes was former Union General George B. McClellan, whom Lincoln had twice promoted—and twice sacked—as head of the Army of the Potomac. "Little Mac," under the sway of prominent Democratic politicians and money men in New York, had readily turned on his former commander in chief and stood poised to enter the White House as a man of war turned man of peace. His military background made

him largely immune to charges that he would be too soft on the Confederates, even if his own leniency toward his erring brothers was well-established on either side of the Mason-Dixon line.

As for Lincoln himself, by the summer of 1864 the president was nearly as war-weary as his most ardent opponents. To one White House visitor he exclaimed, "You think I don't know I am going to be beaten, but I do and unless some great change takes place, badly beaten!" The president secretly jotted down his own prediction that he would not be re-elected and had the members of his cabinet sign it.

In the end, perhaps as much to Lincoln's surprise as to his satisfaction, the election was decided on the battlefield, not at the ballot box. The three most eloquent "stump speeches," Waugh notes, were those made by Union Generals William Sherman and Phil Sheridan and Union Admiral David Farragut in the summer preceding the fall election. Farragut spoke first at Mobile Bay, on August 4, 1864, steaming past the brooding Confederate forts at the mouth of the bay and capturing the vital Southern port city. On September 2, at Atlanta, Sherman spoke next. "Atlanta is ours and fairly won," he cabled the White House. And two weeks later, in Virginia's beloved Shenandoah Valley, Sheridan sent the Confederate army "whirling through Winchester," thus clearing the valley of effective Rebel resistance and opening it up for a season of vicious, vindictive burning and destruction.

When the nation went to the polls on a rainy November 8, 1864, the issue was no longer in doubt. Lincoln won by a margin of 411,482 votes, with an electoral vote margin of 212–21. "The smoke has cleared away," McClellan wrote needlessly to his mother, "and we are beaten." Union caval-

IMAGES: CLASSIC PORTRAITS FINE ARTS, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

ryman Charles Francis Adams, Jr., summed up the matter best. "This election has relieved us of the fire in the rear and now we can devote an undivided attention to the remnants of the Confederacy." Those remnants would hold out a few months longer, but after the re-election of Abraham Lincoln, there was no longer a question of victory. The Northern people had spoken as loudly at the ballot box as their soldiers had spoken in the field.

The Irish Volunteer: Songs of the Irish Union Soldier, audio CD by David Kincaid, Rycodisc USA, Salem, Mass., \$15.98.

While some people write history, the Irish have long preferred to sing it. When a call to arms was sounded, an effective Irish recruiting tool was to evoke the deeds of past heroes in an appeal for a new generation of warriors to follow in their footsteps. That tradition made its way to the United States during the great Irish immigration of the 1840s and 1850s, and when the Civil War broke out in April 1861, it was applied to the recruitment of entire regiments—and ultimately a brigade—of Irish soldiers for the Union Army.

David Kincaid, former lead singer of the rock band the Brandos, spent countless hours of research before re-creating the Civil War music in *The Irish Volunteer: Songs of the Irish Union Soldier*. His efforts involved finding either sheet music or, if only the lyrics could be found, searching for an existing tune to which they had been originally adapted. Although some of the songs were original, a great number were, as is often the case with folk music, simply new words to a proven, catchy tune. Kincaid's opening number, "The Irish Volunteer," is a particularly striking case, since its tune, originally "The Irish Jaunting Car," served not only as the basis for New York music hall performer Joe English's Union recruiting song but also for Harry McCarthy's quintessential Confederate anthem, "The Bonnie Blue Flag."

A folk song's greatest value from a historian's standpoint is as a reflection of the attitudes of its time, and *The Irish Volunteer* gives several examples in unexpurgated form. Widespread British sympathy for the Southern cause strained relations between the United States and British governments, and fears that a divided America might be vulnerable to a British threat from the Canadian border made it easy for Irish-Americans' long-standing antipathy toward the British to become an urgent cry to fight for their adopted country. Some songs refer more to past struggles against British domination—especially the rising of the Society of United Irishmen in 1798—than to the "Southern traitors" to be fought in the present.

One exception among the patriotic broadsides is "Paddy's Lamentation," a genuine anti-war song of the time, sung from the viewpoint of a battlefield amputee. Also

specific to the Civil War is a swipe taken in "Pat Murphy of Meagher's Brigade" against Northern abolitionists, since even the most staunchly pro-Union Irish feared that freeing the slaves would limit their own prospects of finding employment. Yet another sentiment voiced in at least two songs that may seem curious to present-day listeners is the popularity enjoyed by Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan among the Irish Brigade. Historians may dismiss him as a vacillating general who threw away opportunities to win the war, but even as late as 1864, Joe English was concluding "The List of Generals" with: "But of one more I will be telling/And who should be restored straightaway/To put an end to this rebellion/Little Mac he knows the way."

Among the odder numbers included in Kincaid's collection is a second version of "The Irish Volunteer," by J.P. Webster and S. Fillmore Bennett, which is not performed to an Irish folk melody but to a tune typical of American sentimental parlor music at that time. "The Boys of the Irish Brigade," though sung during the Civil War, actually predates it and refers to an earlier such unit in the French army during the 1700s. The one anachronism in the collection, "Free and Green," written by Kincaid and Carl Funk about the death of a Captain Taggart, is included because of an eerie coincidence. Years after writing the song, when he became a re-enactor in Company I, 116th Pennsylvania Infantry, Kincaid discovered that that very company had been led by Captain Samuel Taggart, and that he had been mortally wounded at Ream's Station, Va., on August 25, 1864.

Irish folk music is, admittedly, an acquired taste, but for those who have acquired it, the renditions performed by Kincaid, Liz Knowles, Jerry O'Sullivan, John Whelan and a number of other supporting musicians have considerable merit. Accompanied by a booklet of lyrics that explains such historical references as Brian Boru's victory over the Vikings at Clontarf in 1014 (in "Meagher Is Leading the Irish Brigade") and the loss and recovery of the 69th New York Infantry's colors during the First Battle of Bull Run (in "Boys That Wore the Green"), *The Irish Volunteer* is an enlightening and entertaining slice of American history.

Jon Guttman

Sabres and Pistols: The Civil War Career of Colonel Harry Gilmore, C.S.A., by Timothy Ackinclose, Stan Clark Military Books, Gettysburg, Pa., \$25.

The Civil War introduced more colorful and romantic figures to the military history of the United States than any other war. Some of them, such as Lee, Jackson, Custer and Stuart, have acquired such legendary status that they are instantly recognized by their last names alone. There are many others who, while they have never achieved

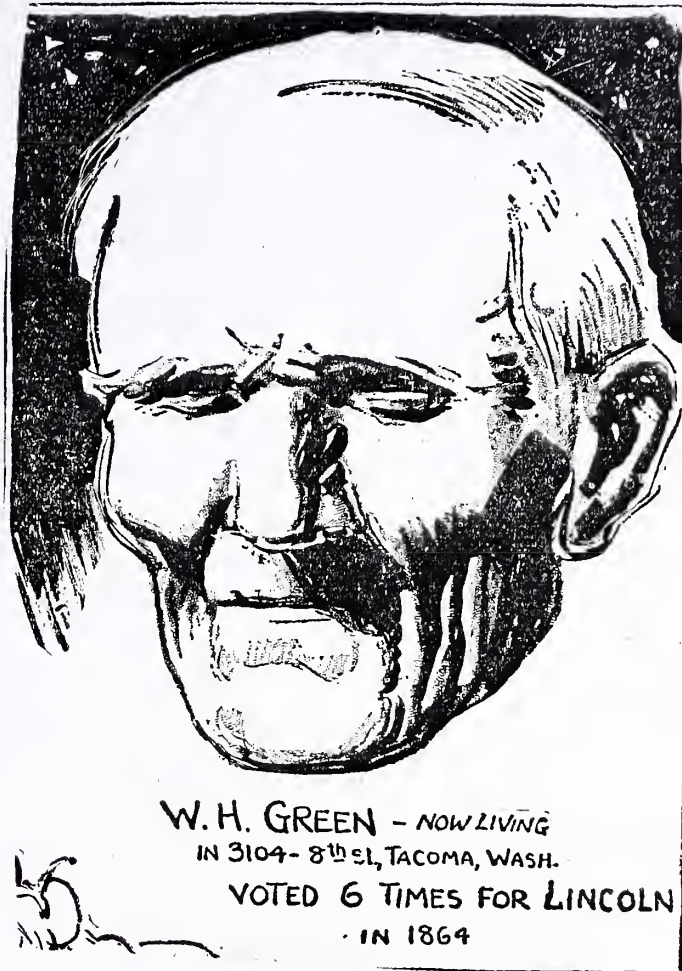
Continued on page 90

Voted for Lincoln Six Times at One Election

Mr. W. H. Green proved his devotion and loyalty to "Father Abraham" by casting a vote for him six times in the same election. It was in 1864 when Lincoln was running against Gen. George B. McClellan. There were no registration books in those days, which facilitated matters for the old veteran. Mr. Green now lives at 3104 North Eighth street, Tacoma, Wash., and still chuckles at the memory of his industriousness on that election day.

Monday—The Smallest Law Enforcement Officer

Green, W. H.



Reporter AT LARGE

Election 1864

By PAUL B. BEERS

When the West Shore, in its incomparable style, voted against "Four More Years" for President Lincoln in 1864, Honest Abe could have been excused if he had given up on Central Pennsylvania.

Lincoln was defeated in Cumberland County by 752 votes. Just as bad was Adams County, home of the Ottenstein Tower. Only 10 months before the 1864 election day, Lincoln had traveled by rickety train to Gettysburg, eaten the local chow and given the finest speech ever made in the English tongue. For this, Adams County voted against Lincoln by 404 votes.

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Dauphin County went with Lincoln twice. The first time, in 1860, Lincoln pulled a Dauphin County plurality of 1,775 votes. Had the Democrats had just one national candidate and not three, Lincoln could have lost. In 1864, his margin dropped to 1,139 votes. It was so close that Simon Cameron, the boss, ordered the first political poll in modern history. Supper Simon wanted to make sure Lincoln had a chance at reelection before he paid for any ballot-box artistry that might be necessary.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Poor as Lincoln did, it was better than John F. Kennedy's record in 1960. Kennedy lost every precinct in Cumberland County and 127 of the 145 districts in Dauphin County.

There is an inverse relationship between Central Pennsylvania's thinking and what is history's eventual judgment. That's not always true but it is in a surprising number of cases, and Lincoln's was one of those.

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The old Patriot spoke for many when it editorialized after the Gettysburg Address that Lincoln "does not possess sense." He was, said some forgotten editor "more like a well-trained monkey than a man of sense and a gentleman." That assessment held in Bedford, Selinsgrove and elsewhere, too. He was described by the Lancaster Intelligencer, for example, as "a miserable, low buffoon who disgraces the presidential chair."

It was only Lincoln's assassination — on Good Friday, the first weekend of peace after the Civil War — that turned public opinion around in Central Pennsylvania. His funeral train passed through Harrisburg, and he lay in state at the old brick Capitol on April 21-22, 1865. From then on, he was the "Martyred Lincoln." No individual event, including the assassination of President Kennedy, affected this community more than "the sepulcher of a sorrow," as The Patriot put it, of the slaying of Lincoln.

What is the essence of Lincoln? Maybe Carl Sandburg said it best when he addressed Congress on the 150th anniversary of Lincoln's birth in 1959.

Lincoln had a quality that millions of people, said Sandburg, "would like to see spread everywhere over the world . . . We can't say exactly what it is but he had it . . . It is there in the lights and shadows of his personality, a mystery that can be lived but never fully spoken in words . . . Not often in the story of mankind does a man arrive on earth who is hard as rock and soft as drifting fog, who holds in his heart and mind the paradox of terrible storm and peace unspeakable and perfect."

He was an odd man.

On his last birthday, there is no indication that he even celebrated it. He signed an entrance paper for a student to go to West Point and he dismissed a death sentence against a captured Rebel spy.

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When he talked to politicians, his material often was mediocre, such as it was when he addressed the Pennsylvania Legislature here on his way to Washington to be inaugurated. When he talked or privately wrote to just plain citizens, he could be magnificent. Most presidents would have had a White House aide write them something snappy for Gettysburg, but not Lincoln.

He was the most experienced trial lawyer who ever became president, but he tolerated as an equal partner William Herndon, who was crude, a heavy drinker and didn't know much law. Lincoln, too, was another of those lawyers who died without a will.

Most perplexing about Lincoln is that he not only paid his taxes but overpaid them.

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"I don't know anything about money," he complained. "I never had enough of my own to fret me." That was true. When he became president he had just \$9,000 in savings and \$5,000 invested in real estate. He withdrew \$400 from the bank to pay for his inaugural trip.

His presidential salary was \$25,000 a year. He had \$91.66 withheld monthly for income taxes. For the tax year ending Dec. 31, 1863, Lincoln paid twice on one obligation. He declared his outside income to be \$1,185 and, taxed at one per cent, he somehow overpaid Internal Revenue by \$17.75. On his salary of \$25,000, he added \$588 in additional income and, on a tax of 5 per cent, paid \$1,279.15, just right. His overpayment wasn't caught until his estate was settled in 1872.

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Lincoln was worth \$83,343.70 when he died, but \$54,515 of that was in government bonds and notes. He left behind four uncashed salary warrants in his desk drawer.

By the time Supreme Court Justice David Davis, an old friend, finished handling the Lincoln estate, it had grown to \$110,975.62. Davis got a refund from Internal Revenue of \$3,555.95 for Mrs. Lincoln, and then graciously refused to accept a \$6,600 fee as the executor.

Just suppose Abraham Lincoln died worth 10 times as much as he was. Would posterity regard him as 10 times greater?

The Doubtful Districts.

Ex-Governor Alexander H. Rice Explains How the News of His Re-election to Congress Was Received by President Lincoln.

I have read in the last number of *The Century* the narrative of Messrs. Hay and Nicolay concerning the incidents attending the reception of the news of the results of the national election in 1861, in which they cite certain comments of President Lincoln upon my re-election, at that time, to the Thirty-ninth Congress. I have also read Mr. Dana's comments in the *New York Sun* upon the doubtful nature of this narrative, and his own recital of the extraordinary levity and indifference of President Lincoln while the despatches from different parts of the country were coming in.

I was not in Washington at the time referred to, and have, therefore, no personal knowledge of what transpired at the War Department on that evening; but upon my next visit, only a few weeks afterward, Mr. Fox, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, told me that he and others were with the President at the War Department when the election returns began to come in, and that the first despatch received from any quarter was from Colonel William W. Clapp, of Boston, announcing my re-election by about 4,000 majority, and that when it was read, Mr. Lincoln remarked that it must be erroneous, saying: "Rice has one of the closest districts in the country, and those figures are more likely to be 40, or perhaps 100." Not many minutes after came a confirmatory despatch from the Associated Press, and Mr. Lincoln then remarked: "If the doubtful districts come in in this shape, what may we expect from the certain ones?" Such was Mr. Fox's statement.

As I was passing the White House, shortly after this conversation with Mr. Fox, the President chanced to come out at the same moment, and, saluting me in his usual cordial manner, he said: "Well, your district proved to be a good deal like a jug, after all, with the handle all on one side." He then added that he heard from Boston before any other place in the country, even from Baltimore, and that the reported majority was so large in my district that he doubted its accuracy until it was confirmed.

I notice that Mr. Dana says he arrived at the War Department, on the evening referred to, "say at eight o'clock, or half-past eight." That was undoubtedly after the despatch from Boston had been received, and therefore after the incidents related (correctly or otherwise) by Messrs. Hay and Nicolay had transpired; and perhaps any extraordinary indifference of Mr. Lincoln to the later returns may be accounted for in the fact that he had already heard from the "doubtful districts."

—*Boston Journal.*

